

The Evolution of the Imperial Image during the Reign of Diocletian

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Abstract

The reign of Diocletian was long and varied. Between his proclamation as emperor on 20 November 284 and his retirement on 1 May 305, the Roman world would undergo significant changes. The most emblematic of these changes is his division of imperial power, first between himself and his fellow soldier emperor, Maximian, as joint *augusti* in 285, and then between himself and Maximian as *augusti*, and Constantius and Galerius, who were also soldier emperors, as *caesares*. Although power sharing arrangements had precedent in Roman history, this division between four initially unrelated men was unprecedented. To accompany this change in power dynamics came changes to how power was projected and received by the people of the empire.

Diocletian and his co-emperors presented an image of unity and harmonious cooperation. This image is present on imperially issued documents, the most abundant of which is their imperial coinage. The unity of the emperors can clearly be seen in the minting of coins in the names of each other, as well as the titles that they used, and did not use. Moreover, coins provide us with a multitude of portraits of the emperors. Portraits also survive in various statues, such as the famous group of tetrarchs in Venice, allowing us to compare imperially controlled portraits across media. References to the emperors in inscriptions come in a variety of contexts which offer a glimpse into how the emperors were perceived by the everyday people of the empire, the military, and other groups, as well as how the emperors wished to be perceived.

Comparing the image of the emperors who preceded Diocletian with those who succeeded him allows us to discern what changes occurred under Diocletian. These changes underpin the image of Diocletian's many successors, while they variously continued and dropped certain aspects of this image. Constantine, the son of Diocletian's junior co-emperor Constantius, would wield the image created under Diocletian in order to project his own image of power.

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General Introduction

1. Introduction

The period of the first tetrarchy, 1 March 293 to 1 May 305, was a time of great reform and change in the Roman world.¹ Some of these changes had little impact; many were long lasting, creating the foundation necessary for subsequent emperors to further transform the Roman state. The period has long been recognized as marking a significant shift in Roman history; today 284, the start of the reign of Diocletian, who initiated the tetrarchy, is seen as a reasonable place to start the study of Late Antiquity.²

The fifty years that preceded the reign of Diocletian saw significant and serious challenges to the systems of administration, both military and political, that had formed the basis of the Roman empire since Augustus. The death of Alexander Severus in 235 marked the end of the Severan dynasty and the start of a period of significant instability and change. Until this time, emperors had mainly come from the senatorial elite.³ Succession was usually dynastic - an emperor's successor was typically a relative who was able to secure the loyalty of the Senate and army, or someone who was adopted by the emperor because of existing popularity amongst those two groups.⁴ The fifty years after the end of the Severan dynasty changed the class of person who became emperor as power increasingly shifted towards whomever had the most support amongst

¹ Barnes 1981: 10-14; Carré 1999: 154-56; Rees 2004: 87-88; Harries 2012: 25.

² Whitby, Whitby 1989: xxviii-xxix; Leadbetter 2009: 1-2; Harries 2012: xi-xiii; Carla-Uhink, Rollinger 2023: 11-24; Mitchell, Greatrex 2023: 4-13.

³ Williams 1985: 24-38; Rees 2004: 12; Dolezal 2022: 150-51.

⁴ Rees 2004: 71; Chen 2018: 42-82; De Blois 2022: 245-60.

the soldiers, which became other career soldiers.⁵ Ideals of dynastic succession and traditional power derived from the Senate remained despite this change.⁶

The reign of Diocletian was influenced by his third century imperial predecessors. The ways in which the emperor(s) represented themselves changed throughout his reign to accompany his divisions of imperial power and other policy changes. His sole rule was quickly made into a joint rule of two *augusti* with the appointment of his fellow soldier, and at the time un-related, Maximian in December of 285.⁷ This was followed by the elevation of two more initially unrelated soldiers to the position of *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, on 1 March 293.⁸ After twelve years of imperial power sharing among these four men, Diocletian and Maximian retired to become *seniores augusti*, allowing Constantius and Galerius to become *augusti*, and two more soldiers, Severus and Maximinus, to be named *caesares*.⁹

These changes to the power structure of the empire were accompanied by other significant reforms. Imperial rescripts were compiled into law codes for the first time, allowing Roman law to be less reactive and more centralized, more clearly defining the emperor's position and allowing for more consistent application of the law.¹⁰ The governing of the empire was divided between a more developed bureaucracy as the number of provinces in the empire was increased to one hundred, each with a governor, and twelve *dioceses* were created a level above the provinces, each

⁵ Alföldy 2003: 98-103; Leadbetter 2004: 30-35; Harries 2012: 8; Humphries 2018: 65-70; Dolezal 2022: 111-12, 25; Mitchell, Greatrex 2023: 58.

⁶ Burns 2007: 231-35; De Blois 2018: 240-41; Waldron 2022: 197-200.

⁷ Bowman 2008: 68-70; Harries 2012: 30-31; Burgess 2023: 32-34.

⁸ L'Orange 1965: 75-79; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Barnes 1982: 4-9; Corcoran 1996: 268-70; Harries 2012: 26; Rees 2004: 7-8; Waldron 2022: 222-32.

⁹ Barnes 1982: 30-35; Williams 1985: 61-70; Rees 2004: 7-8; Leadbetter 2009: 100-03, 134-38; Omissi 2018: 103-16.

¹⁰ The ability of an emperor to consistently apply the law was celebrated. See *Pan. Lat.* 10. 3.3-4; Rees 2007: 104-7. Also see Lactant. *Mort Pers.* 23.1; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 115-25; Rees 2004: 38-39; Dolezal 2022: 206-11; Mitchell, Greatrex 2023: 174-5.

with a *vicarius* who reported directly to the praetorian prefect.¹¹ The military was reorganized and the Rhine, Danube, and Syrian frontiers were fortified with denser fortifications and stationed with sedentary troops called *limitanei*, while mobile troops, called *comitatenses*, accompanied the emperor.¹² Taxation was reformed to accompany these increases in spending, and a system of taxation based on regularized census was implemented which established a reliable and predictable imperial budget.¹³ Changes were made to the monetary system in 294 and 301 in efforts to address the empires systemic issues with inflation; another attempt to address this issues was the attempted enforcement of maximum prices on wide range of goods and services in 301.¹⁴ Finally, the presentation of the emperor changed, and more elaborate dress and ceremonies were introduced which elevated the position of the emperor in relation to his subjects.¹⁵

These changes are often regarded as a watershed moment in Roman history, and the ways in which the power of the emperors was communicated and received after Diocletian and his tetrarchic successors has been viewed by scholars as fundamentally different from how they were before the soldier emperors who preceded them.¹⁶ Did Diocletian make fundamental changes to the way in which he presented himself, and later his colleagues, to the people to accompany his changes to the ways in which the empire was governed, funded, and protected? Did he present

¹¹ Rees 2004: 25-27; Bowman 2008: 76-78; Dolezal 2022: 193-96.

¹² Amm. Marc. XXIII. 5.2; Malalas. 12.308; Carré 1999: 160-69; Rees 2004: 19-21; Dolezal 2022: 196-200.

¹³ Corcoran 1996: 293-95; Rees 2004: 32-3; Rees 2007: 120-21; Potter 2014: 291-92; Dolezal 2022: 190-91

¹⁴ *RIC* 5.1 pp. 5-9; Depeyrot 1987: 96-98; Corcoran 1996: 2015-15; Bowman 2008: 76-78; Harries 2012: 12; Kallmes 2018: 1-5; Dolezal 2022: 200-05.

The coinage reforms are discussed further in chapter 1.

¹⁵ Potter 2014: 281-85; Omissi 2018: 12-21; Guidetti 2023: 121-24; Rollinger 2023: 94-96.

The reforms to the emperor's presentation are discussed further in chapter 1.

¹⁶ From the time of Gibbon, the reign of Diocletian has been noted as marking a fundamental shift in the position of the emperor. Gibbon states that Diocletian 'deprived [the Senate] of its small remains of power', adopted the title *dominus* so that 'the name of emperor was associated with another of a more servile kind', and introduced 'the stately magnificence of the court of Persia', amongst other changes. See Gibbon, chapter 14.

Amongst modern scholarship, Timothy Barnes' *New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* makes this distinction most clearly. See notes 1 and 2 for modern scholars who mark the reign of Diocletian as a fundamental change in Roman history.

himself as a new kind of emperor or did he emphasize continuity with the emperors of the past? How controlled were these changes and how did the emperors disseminate them? Were these changes to the self-representation of the emperor(s) introduced by Diocletian underpinned by a consistent ideology that can be seen in state-controlled media, coins, imperial inscriptions, and statues, the three most important ways in which the emperor could communicate with the people of the empire? How did the people of the empire receive this new self-representation, and can its ideology be seen in non-centrally controlled media, such as provincial inscriptions?

2. The Promotion and Dissemination of Imperial Ideology in the Roman World

Definition of ideology

Before we begin, ideology, image, self-representation, and how the use of coinage, sculpture, and inscriptions to promote and disseminate the emperor's image to the people of the empire must be defined and explained. The image of the emperor was created through both visual forms, such as portraits, and language, such as titles and epithets. The emperor's image involved both self-representation and the reception of that self-representation by the people. The ideology that underpinned the rule of a Roman emperor was transmitted through this image to emphasise the stability and prosperity of his rule, as well as promote social cohesion under him.¹⁷ Therefore an examination of imperial ideology requires examination of both imperial self-representation and its reception by the people of the empire.

For this thesis, the definition of ideology that has been used is that given in Filippo Carlucci and Christian Rollinger's recent work *The Tetrarchy as Ideology*, where ideology is defined as the images that a group uses to communicate and frame its decisions, as well as represent its

¹⁷ Morris 2010: 135-40.

beliefs and identity.¹⁸ An ideology requires both central authority and reception, which may be adherence or rejection, by its target audience, so examining both centrally controlled media (coins, imperial inscriptions, and statues) and non-centrally controlled media (non-imperial inscriptions) offers proper insight.¹⁹ The images that made up the emperor's ideology were created by his titles and portraits. On imperially commissioned coins, portraits, and inscriptions, we can see how the emperor represented himself – what image he created with the titles, expression, facial features, clothing and other object he gave to himself. In inscriptions that were not imperially commissioned, such as those set up provincial officials, in military camps, or on everyday objects, we can see what titles the people of the empire used to represent the emperor, and therefore what image they projected back to him. The definition of ideology chosen has been selected because of its focus on the images disseminated by the Roman emperors, which covers the media chosen that will be examined in this thesis. The media chosen to be examined show either the message of the central authority, the emperors, or the reception of that message by the people of the empire.

Ideology in imperial coinage, inscriptions, and statues

Coins were minted to collect taxes and easily finance the expenses of the state, but their combinations of images and words served to communicate messages.²⁰ These messages were present on individual coins and created by the impression from a variety of coin types. For much of Roman history there were both imperial mints and provincial mints, which would produce coins containing different messages.²¹ The coins minted by imperial mints were, in some capacity,

¹⁸ Carla-Uhink, Rollinger 2023:16.

¹⁹ Morris 2010: ix-xix, 171.

²⁰ The states most critical expense was paying the army. All metal types were used for this, but gold and silver coins were typically reserved for donatives in this period. Depeyrot 1987: 55-59; Hekster 2003: 20-25; Brennan et al 2007: 5; Norena 2011: 248-68; Manders 2012: 303-09

²¹ The mints of the empire became more centralized under Diocletian with the cessation of provincial coinage. Depeyrot 1987: 35-44; Norena 2011: 258-60; Hekster 2023:38.

approved by the emperor and contained messages from the central authority to anyone who would handle the coin.²² It is also useful to note that these were meant to be mobile messages, disseminated through everyday actions and transactions to all corners of the empire. Unfortunately, we do not know how quickly newly minted coins would spread throughout the empire and become numerous enough to be noticed among the coins of earlier emperors.²³ Since imperial coinage contained the symbols of the authority that made them legal tender, such as the emperor's head and titles, coins should be viewed as official documents of the state.²⁴ This means that coins, which were minted in imperially controlled mints, are an excellent example of how the emperor represented himself and disseminated his ideology. The titles and images they contain show us how the central authority framed its right to rule, and contain images as defined by Uink and Rollinger.

Inscriptions, on the other hand, were not all created in imperial workshops and may have been moved and/or partly destroyed.²⁵ Inscriptions could be set up in a variety of contexts: some were set up by imperial officials or were copies of imperial edicts and rescripts; others were dedications by provincial authorities; others were dedicated by the military; others by religious authorities; and others were simply private inscriptions that referred to the emperor. The inscriptions which contain imperial edicts contain the terminology approved by the emperor to present his decisions to the people and are therefore a surviving example of the direct dissemination of his ideology and the image he wished to project. Regarding provincial and other

²² Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 67-70; Norena 2001: 146; Hekster 2003: 20-25; Norena 2011: 249.

²³ Coins of Septimius Severus (r. 193-211) have been found in hoards from the 260s; billon coins were used in day-to-day transactions and always circulated, while gold and silver coins most likely did not. The high inflation rates during the reign of Diocletian saw a decrease in the circulation of gold and, particularly, silver coins. Depeyrot 1987: 55-59; Norena 2011: 264; Manders 2012: 25-33; Kallmes 2018: 6-8.

²⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 70-73; Hekster 2003: 20-25; Norena 2011: 256; Manders 2012: 25-33.

²⁵ Corcoran 1996: 230-31; Hekster 2023: 36-37.

inscriptions, with the rapid turn-over of emperors in the third century, there were often mistakes in the titles given to the emperors. The exact titles of the members of the tetrarchy, even such basic titles as *augustus* and *caesar*, are often confused and incorrect.²⁶ For this thesis, both the imperial title formulae and the adjectives and unofficial epithets used to address the emperors will be examined. These provide a reflection of the emperor's ideology that is not preserved elsewhere; the reflection or reception of the emperor's ideology as seen in the provinces.

Statues and reliefs suffer many of the same problems as inscriptions in that many have been moved and/or partly destroyed. Prototype portraits of the emperor were routinely made at his court and sent to the workshops of the empire to communicate how the emperor wished to be represented.²⁷ The provenance of many such statues and reliefs is often unknown. Most have been moved from their origin or otherwise damaged over the centuries and therefore lost their context.²⁸ Some of the works examined in this paper have certainly been moved from their original context long ago, and so we are left with an incomplete understanding of their full message. Nonetheless, since they were based on directions from the imperial court, they demonstrate to us how the emperor wished to be seen, and therefore we can discern aspects of his image and the ideology he used to legitimize his rule.

Words and symbols that make up the image of the emperor

Neither the ideology nor the methods that the tetrarchs used to communicate it to the people of the empire emerged from a vacuum. All previous emperors used coins, statues, and inscriptions to frame their decisions and communicate the ideas and beliefs that outlined their image to the people, and the people had always used inscriptions to communicate with the emperors. In other

²⁶ Burgess 2023: 5-6; Hekster 2023: 36-37.

²⁷ Smith 1997: 176-79, 188-91; Hekster 2023: 45-46.

²⁸ Smith 1997: 176-79, 188-91; Sare Agturk 2023: 53-58.

words, every emperor had his own ideology that was transmitted through these media.²⁹ The messages that were communicated could be personal to the emperor, and we can see many different messages that were related to or employed by specific emperors.³⁰ Even so, these changes were often subtle or gradual, or recalled earlier examples, as a means of linking the new emperor to the previous figures whose rules were seen as legitimate.³¹ The titles, dress, and appearance of the emperor contributed to the legitimization of his rule by linking him to the groups in which his power resided.³² There are consistent images that were used by every emperor to demonstrate that he was a legitimate emperor.

The titles of the emperor came from the way in which Augustus first defined his sole rule.³³ By collecting all of the highest Republican positions of power and taking an adjective that had not been previously used to define a person as his name, Augustus established a position that had no clear and definite title.³⁴ *Imperator*, *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestas*, *consul*, and *proconsul* were all titles of Republican positions with widely understood power at the time of Augustus. By collecting the highest legislative, judicial, religious, and military titles which existed in the Roman state in his time, Augustus created the group of titles which came to define the emperor.³⁵ That being said, other titles, such as *caesar*, victory titles, and *pius felix* were also used by many emperors between Augustus and Diocletian, and the changes in their use can tell us how important they were, or were not, to the creation of the image of imperial legitimacy. Which titles were used most often varied between dynasties depending on what message they wished to send.

²⁹ Norena 2011: 249-51; Carla-Uhink, Rollinger 2023: 17-19.

³⁰ Norena 2011: 262-63; Hekster 2023: 43-44.

³¹ Humphries 2008: 92-97; Manders 2012: 25-26; Carla-Uhink, Rollinger 2023: 19.

³² Hekster 2023: 102-05.

³³ Hekster 2023: 41, 69.

³⁴ Barnes 1982: 23-27; Omissi 2018: 21-34; Hekster 2023: 105.

³⁵ Hekster 2023: 24-34.

The symbols that accompanied the emperor and denoted his position were as varied as their titles. Some symbols had roots in the Republic, such as the laureate crown, or in the first emperor, Augustus, such as the radiate crown.³⁶ They also changed in relative frequency depending on the emperor that was in power and the message they wished to communicate. The most common on the coinage were the laureate or radiate crown, depending on the denomination of the coin, military dress as a promise of victory and stability, the gods as a sign of divine favour, and a globe, or Victory on a globe, to symbolize Roman dominion over the whole world.³⁷ In statues where more of the emperor's body was visible, his clothing identified him as the emperor and had various connotations: bare shoulder, tunic, and toga (all traditional); veiled (religious); and cuirass, military cloak, helmet, spear, and shield (all military). The colour purple, owing to its expensive nature, was associated most strongly with the emperor and his household, and could be the colour of his clothes, painted on statues, or in the very material of the statue.³⁸

Lastly, the material and size of sculptures also denoted the emperor in some fashion. As the emperor held supreme power, his statues, and those of his family, had to be separated from those of other living people. Greater than life-size depictions were reserved for divine figures, be they deities or deified emperors, and eventually the living emperor.³⁹ Statues and sculptures could be made from a variety of expensive materials such as bronze or marble, which were not exclusive to the emperor. The exception was porphyry, which, because of its purple colour and difficulty to

³⁶ The radiate crown first appeared after Augustus' victory at Actium as the prize for the Actian games, before appearing on coins of Divus Augustus, and then Nero, Vespasian, and all emperors after Vespasian. Bardill 2012: 42-57; Hijmans 2024: 887, 904, 952-55.

³⁷ Manders 2012: 102-07; Manders 2020: 211-15; Hekster 2023: 99-102.

³⁸ Rees 2004: 49; Rollinger 2023: 94-96; Sare Agturk 2023: 51-53.

³⁹ Hekster 2023: 60-61; Sare Agturk 2023: 51-52

carve, was used exclusively to depict divine and imperial figures.⁴⁰ These factors contributed to the image of the emperor and framed his power and right to rule.

3. Methodology

The methods used for this paper will necessarily have to differ among the four media: the titles on coinage, the titles in inscriptions, the portraits on the coinage, and the portraits of statues. Since the major focus is the change in the image of the emperor, and what ideology those changes communicate, context is needed to establish what changes occurred. To determine change, a control group of the media of the emperors who preceded Diocletian, with which we can compare the media during and after the reign of Diocletian, have been examined. Some of these emperors had reigns of five or more years, some short reigns of only a few months. They are Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, who provide fourteen years of imperial imagery before the reign of Diocletian. To survey the image changes, the emperors succeeding the tetrarchs will be examined, up to the defeat of Licinius in 324. This marks the death of the last emperor whose accession was directly linked to Diocletian. This section will examine if changes occurred to the image of the emperors after the first and second tetrarchies.

The numismatics research will rely on *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* for information on denominations, metals, descriptions of the portraits, legends, and mints. Any attempt to count the frequency of portrait or legends would be meaningless or impossible given the diversity and scale of the imperial coinage, so only general frequencies of coin types based on *RIC* and other secondary sources can be made. Chapter 2.1 discusses the titles on the coinage of the emperors examined. For the reign of Aurelian (r. 270-75) to the death of Constantius in July 306, this chapter is divided by the coinage of each emperor. After the death of Constantius, it is divided by the mints

⁴⁰ Smith 1997: 179-83; Hekster 2023: 58-59.

controlled by each competing emperor in the civil wars that spanned 306 to 324. Appendix 1.1 contains a list of *RIC* numbers for the common title formulae on the coinage of the emperors examined, while the *RIC* numbers of rare titles and title formulae are given in the footnotes of chapter 2.1.

Inscriptions are taken from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)*. This resource covers most of the inscriptions relevant to the tetrarchs and any emperors preceding them that will be used for context. Hundreds of other inscriptions have been published in publications such as *L'Année épigraphique* since *CIL* was published. The goal of this thesis is to make a general survey of the titles in the emperors' inscriptions, and *CIL* provides an adequately large number of samples for this purpose.⁴¹ Siegfried Lauffer's 1971 edition of Diocletian's prices edict has been used. Inscriptions for the tetrarchs also present a change concerning the language used to address the emperor. The emperors of the third century began to use many new titles, some of which became official and some did not. The continued use or abandonment of these titles has been tracked.

The range of titles, new and old, which appear in the epigraphic record show the communication of the emperors' beliefs to the people, while inscriptions dedicated by the provincials demonstrate their response to the emperors' ideology. The titles in inscriptions of each emperor are discussed in chapter 2.2. This chapter is divided by emperor or co-rule of emperors throughout. Appendix 1.2 contains the *CIL* numbers of inscriptions with superlatives and other rare epithets of the emperors examined. Some of these inscriptions are referenced in text in chapter 2.2, others are referenced in the footnotes. Appendix 1.3 contains tables and graphs which break

⁴¹ 2039 inscriptions have been surveyed for the data collected in appendices 1.2 and 1.3. This sample set does not include inscriptions that do not give the emperor any titles, where the titles have been lost over time, or are not otherwise included. Inscriptions with *divus* are excluded. Greek only inscriptions are not included, as these do not appear in all contexts, and are comparatively few - there are only thirty-two inscriptions from this period in *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum (CIG)* for instance. See the preface to appendix 1.2 for further information.

down the frequency of titles for each emperor examined, divided by *augusti* and *caesares*. These graphs and tables are referenced in chapter 2.2 when the frequency of the official titles of each emperor is discussed.

Chapter 3 contains analysis of the portraits on the coinage of the same emperors as chapter 2.1. The analysis of the portraits on the coinage is divided in the same manner as chapter 2.1. Online auction sites and other similar resources have been used to gather photographs of the coins analysed. These pictures are in appendix 3.1. There are too many mints to provide an example of a coin of each emperor from each mint. For the period between Aurelian and the establishment of the tetrarchy in 293, photos of one or more billon and gold coins are provided from one western mint and one eastern mint.⁴² For the first and second tetrarchies, a photo of one coin of each metal type for each emperor from one western mint and one eastern mint is provided. Like chapter 2.1, after July 306 the appendix is divided by mints controlled by each emperor. A photo of one coin of each metal type for each emperor who had coins struck in his name from two mints under the control of each emperor is provided. These photos are referenced in the footnotes of chapter 3.

There are significantly fewer examples of statues and sculptures than there are coins or inscriptions. The main works to be examined are the painted reliefs from Nicomedia, and Venetian and Vatican porphyry groups, which are all found readily in secondary sources covering the tetrarchy. To gather context for the style and content of the sculptures, examples from earlier third century emperors, starting with Aurelian, and later fourth-century emperors, ending with the death of Licinius, will be examined. These can also be found readily in the same or similar works. These

⁴² See the preface to chapter 2.1 for explanations of billon, and what is being defined as ‘western’ and ‘eastern’ mints.

are discussed in chapter 3. The discussion of statues is divided by emperor or joint rule of emperors where applicable. Examples pictures are provided in appendix 3.2 and referenced in chapter 3.

Chapter 1: Historical Overview, 270-324

Before the coinage, inscriptions, and statues of the period between 270 and 324 can be discussed, a brief historical narrative needs to be given to contextualize the changes. The period between July 306 and July 313 in particular was marked by a complicated interplay of alliances, usurpations, and dynastic elevations. Different emperors controlled different regions, and their mints, at different times. These emperors minted coins in the names of the other emperors that they recognized as legitimate; since recognition shifted throughout the period the emperors who were recognized differed from emperor to emperor.

1. The Emperors Preceding Diocletian

In order to understand the image of the Roman emperor at the time of Diocletian and the first tetrarchy, we must understand the image of the emperors who preceded them. The third century began with the reign of Septimius Severus (r.193-211), who was the first emperor to be born and raised in the provinces of the empire, but was made a Senator in the 170s.⁴³ The year his reign began, 193, is known as the year of five emperors, as various divisions of the army elevated five different men to succeed Commodus.⁴⁴ Septimius Severus was able to pacify these factions and maintain the loyalty of the legions during his reign by increasing their pay and improving the conditions of service.⁴⁵ He had a good relationship with the Senate, and it continued to enjoy its prominent position in the power structure of the empire.⁴⁶ This balance between real power founded in the support of legions and legitimate power granted by the support of the Senate was the foundation of the legitimacy of all the emperors who preceded Septimius Severus.⁴⁷ There was

⁴³ Trajan (r. 98-117) and Hadrian (r. 117-38) were born in Spain to Italian families; Pertinax (r. 193) was the son of freedman but was born and raised in Italy. See Birley 2002: 255-57; Sage 2020: 35-40.

⁴⁴ Birley 2002: 123-43; Sage 2020: 56-74.

⁴⁵ Birley 2002: 250-54; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Sage 2020: 167-69.

⁴⁶ Birley 2002: 250-54; Sage 2020: 167-69.

⁴⁷ De Blois 2018: 226-28; Sage 2020: 169; Hekster 2023: 105.

no definite formula for being accepted by the Senate, and therefore legitimate, for Roman emperors as the position and power of the emperor had always been ambiguously defined.

The image of Septimius Severus reflects this balance but pushed the position of the emperor away from its supposed dependence on the Senate.⁴⁸ Moreover, to secure his legitimacy he tied himself to the previous imperial dynasty by adopting himself as the son of Marcus Aurelius, who had died fifteen years prior.⁴⁹ Septimius Severus then created an imperial dynasty of his own in the image of previous imperial dynasties, with his sons, Caracalla and Geta, first as *caesares* and then *augusti*, and his wife, Julia Domna, as *augusta*.⁵⁰ Julia Domna was given a new title that reflected the more militarized image of the emperor and his household – *mater castrorum et senatus et patriae*.⁵¹ His younger son, Geta, was also given a new title that elevated his position from just that of successor – *nobilissimus caesar*.⁵² Septimius Severus and his sons continued to use the traditional titles of their predecessors, such as *imperator*, *caesar*, *augustus*, *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, *proconsul*, and *pater patriae*.⁵³ The image of the Severan dynasty balanced legitimacy founded in the Senate with real power founded in the military, while also emphasising stable succession through dynastic heirs.

The Severan dynasty ended in 235 and was followed by a combination of frequent invasions on multiple frontiers, civil wars, and plague, along with economic turmoil resulting from these, which created great instability at the imperial level. The next fifty years saw a great many

⁴⁸ Birley 2002: 250-57; Sage 2020: 151, 169.

⁴⁹ Levick 2007 145-46; Sage 2020: 168-69; Hekster 2023: 40-45.

⁵⁰ Levick 2007: 141-44; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Sage 2020: 151, 169.

⁵¹ *Mater castrorum* was first given to Faustina the Younger, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, in 174. These titles recall an aborted attempt to call Livia, the wife of Augustus, *mater patria* to accompany Augustus' *pater patriae*. *Mater patriae* predates imperial usage and has roots in earlier, but near contemporary, 'mothers' of cities. See Hemelrijk 2010: 457-63; Chen 2018: 61-62.

⁵² This title was first used for Geta from about 197 (examples include *CIL* III: 75, and 1451) but does not appear on his coinage.

⁵³ Manders 2012: 303-09; Hekster 2023: 30-35.

emperors attempt to create dynasties in the image of the Severans, with the emperor, the *augustus*, his wife, the *augusta*, and their youthful son(s) as his successors, the *caesar(es)*.⁵⁴ Most of these dynasties quickly failed, and the instability of the empire continued. This instability fostered the rise of the soldier emperors, of whom the tetrarchs are a perfect example.⁵⁵

By the reign of Aurelian, the men who became emperor had first been career soldiers, who were often declared emperor by their legions while on campaign. The emperor Gallienus (r. 260-68) had rearranged the defence of the empire to hinge on a mobile group of elite cavalry. The commanding officers of this cavalry group, the *protectores*, were professional soldiers instead of senatorial or equestrian elites, and so the organization of the empire's defences, and therefore the loyalty of the legions, fell to the most senior of these career soldiers.⁵⁶ The military backgrounds of the soldier emperors, and the problems they faced, saw experimentation with the ways in which the empire was governed. There were military, taxation, monetary, and administrative reforms, notably under Aurelian in the early 270s.⁵⁷ The monetary reform of Aurelian worsened the already rampant inflation of the third century, and, as a result, economic conditions deteriorated during the decade before Diocletian.⁵⁸ Many of the emperors in this period projected the image of a dynastic family with their wife and son(s). The emperor's son being designated the successor to the *augustus* and being given the title *caesar* became more common, and the empire was split between multiple emperors more than once in the third century.⁵⁹ Valerian and Gallienus, father and son

⁵⁴ The Severans, Maximinus Thrax, Gordian III, Philip the Arab, Decius, Aemilian, Valerian, Gallienus, Aurelian, and Carus/Carinus all projected images of a dynastic family with their wife, given the title *augusta*, and often their son, given the title *caesar*, in the third century alone. See Burns 2007: 231-35; De Blois 2018: 240-41; Waldron 2022: 197-200.

⁵⁵ Alföldy 2003: 98-103; Harries 2012: 5-7; Carla-Uhink, Rollinger 2023:12-3.

⁵⁶ Williams 1985: 24-28; Alföldy 2003: 98-103; Leadbetter 2009: 30-35; Dolezal 2022: 111-12, 25.

⁵⁷ Watson 1999: 211-17; Alföldy 2003: 98-103; Rees 2004: 50; Harries 2012: 12, 83; Dolezal 2022: 138-40.

⁵⁸ Williams 1985: 24-38; Watson 1999: 211-17; Kallmes 2018: 6-8; Dolezal 2022: 138-40.

⁵⁹ Naming a *caesar* was not an innovation of the third century and had long been practiced. Bowman 2008: 75-76; Leadbetter 2009: 6-11; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Omissi 2018: 3-12.

respectively, shared power as *augusti*, and later Carus created a rule of three emperors with his eldest son, Carinus, as his co-*augustus*, and his younger son, Numerian, as *caesar*.⁶⁰ This rule of three was the immediate background for the succession of Diocletian in 284.

The period before the elevation of Diocletian is typical of the third century.⁶¹ Aurelian ruled the empire alone from 270 until 275, during which he put down the breakaway Gallic and Palmyrene empires.⁶² He was an active emperor, and his court moved with him across the empire on his campaigns, but his coins were produced in mints that were fixed within cities from Lyons to Alexandria.⁶³ He was murdered in 275, but his killer did not become emperor and a brief interregnum occurred before Tacitus was chosen.⁶⁴ Like Aurelian, Tacitus was a career soldier, but more elderly. He may have been chosen by the Senate in Rome, but more likely he was the eldest officer amongst the *protectores*.⁶⁵ His reign was brief, and he died after some six months. His younger half-brother Florian attempted to seize the empire but was challenged by the general Probus. Florian was killed by his troops in favour of Probus after only eighty-eight days.⁶⁶ Probus ruled for six years, spending most of that time campaigning along the Rhine and Danube.⁶⁷ He sought to rebuild and reinvigorate the Rhine frontier by using the soldiers as labour.⁶⁸ This made him unpopular, and the empire remained unstable.⁶⁹ He faced two usurpers in Gaul alone, which had only been brought back into the empire in the previous decade.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Harries 2012: 31; Dolezal 2022: 150-51.

⁶¹ Rees 2004: 5; Hebbelwhite 2023: 160-61; Mitchell and Greatrex 2023: 58.

⁶² Williams 1985: 24-30; Leadbetter 2009: 33-34; Harries 2012: 7-8; Dolezal 2022: 130-34.

⁶³ *RIC* 5.1 pp. 256-62; Watson 1999: 17-19; Potter 2014: 264-68; Omissi 2018: 74-79.

⁶⁴ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 35.11-13; Leadbetter 2009: 36-37; Dolezal 2022: 145-47.

⁶⁵ Leadbetter 2009: 35-37.

⁶⁶ *Eutr.* 9.16; Leadbetter 2009: 35-36.

⁶⁷ Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 37-38; Dolezal 2022: 148-50.

⁶⁸ Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Harries 2012: 9; Dolezal 2022: 148-50.

⁶⁹ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 35.5-9; *Eutr.* 9.17.

⁷⁰ Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Harries 2012: 7-8.

Probus' praetorian prefect Carus declared himself emperor on the Danube frontier, and Probus' own troops killed him in favour of Carus.⁷¹ Carus immediately campaigned in Gaul, naming his eldest son, Carinus, an experienced soldier, *caesar*, giving him power there.⁷² He named his younger son, Numerian, *caesar* at this time as well.⁷³ Carus then elevated Carinus to *augustus* and left him in charge of Gaul and Italy while he and Numerian launched a campaign against the Persians. All the mints of the empire struck coins for all three emperors.⁷⁴ In an attempt to further secure the loyalty of his praetorian prefect, Aper, he married Numerian to Aper's daughter.⁷⁵ His invasion was successful, and the Roman army reached Ctesiphon while the Persians were facing internal conflict and an invasion on their eastern frontier.⁷⁶ Carus then died, struck by lightning, as many sources claim, or otherwise in circumstances that were not seen as suspicious by the army.⁷⁷ The troops declared Numerian *augustus*, and orderly marched back to Roman territory.⁷⁸

Numerian died on the return journey, perhaps of an eye infection, or killed by Aper, his father-in-law.⁷⁹ Aper concealed Numerian's death while planning his next move.⁸⁰ When Numerian's death was eventually exposed, Diocletian seized the opportunity, claiming it was an attempt by Aper to seize power.⁸¹ The troops, then without a clear leader, hailed Diocletian as

⁷¹ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38.

⁷² Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38.

⁷³ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38.

⁷⁴ *RIC* 5.2 pp. 127-31.

⁷⁵ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38.

⁷⁶ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Daryee 2009: 10-13; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Elton 2018: 28-29.

⁷⁷ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 38.3; *Eutr.* 9.18.

⁷⁸ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 38.5; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Rees 2004: 5; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38.

⁷⁹ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 38.5; *Eutr.* 9.18; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Rees 2004: 5; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Harries 2012: 27.

⁸⁰ Leadbetter 2009: 39-40.

⁸¹ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 38.9.9; *Eutr.* 9.20; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Rees 2004: 5; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Harries 2012: 27.

augustus on 20 November 284, who promptly killed Aper in front of them.⁸² Diocletian then marched west to face Carinus. They met in battle near Margus along the Danube, where Carinus was killed by one of his own officers and Diocletian was left sole emperor of the Roman world in the early summer of 285.⁸³ Diocletian marched east to secure his hold on power, but unrest arose in Gaul and there were invasions across the Rhine and Danube.⁸⁴ In an unprecedented move, by the end of 285 he named the unrelated Maximian *augustus*, sending him to the West to secure Gaul and the Rhine frontier.⁸⁵

2. The Reign of Diocletian and Maximian

It appears to have been an emergency of security in the West that prompted Diocletian, who needed to consolidate his rule in the East, to make Maximian *augustus* in December of 285.⁸⁶ For the first time the empire was split between two unrelated *augusti*. These two men co-ruled the empire as joint *augusti* with comparative success in relation to their predecessors. Maximian was able to put down the unrest in Gaul and secure the Rhine, and Diocletian campaigned successfully on the Danube and won a diplomatic victory against the Persians.⁸⁷ There is no evidence that a college of four was planned at this stage, and it is unclear if the empire was officially divided in half.⁸⁸ They adopted their *signa*, *Iovius* for Diocletian and *Herculius* for Maximian, at this time.⁸⁹

⁸² Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.9; Eutr. 9.20; Barnes 1981: 3014; Williams 1985: 24-38; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Elton 2018: 28-29; Burgess 2023.

⁸³ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.7; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 24-38; Rees 2004: 5; Leadbetter 2009: 36-38; Harries 2012: 27.

⁸⁴ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Barnes 1982: 49-50; Burgess 2023: 32; Dolezal 2022: 155-56.

⁸⁵ Rees 2004: 6; Bowman 2008: 68-70; Leadbetter 2004: 265-56; Harries 2012: 28; Burgess 2023: 20-24.

⁸⁶ Bowman 2008: 68-70; Harries 2012: 30-31; Burgess 2023: 32-34.

⁸⁷ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 41-60; Bowman 2008: 71-74; Daryee 2009: 10-13; Dolezal 2022: 155-57; Harries 2012: 28-30; Omissi 2018: 80-85; Dolezal 2022: 155-57.

⁸⁸ Rees 2004: 24-25; Elton 2018: 29-31; Dolezal 2022: 167-71.

⁸⁹ In 287 or 289. See Williams 1985: 41-60; Rees 2004: 6-8, 55; Leadbetter 2009: 55.

In 289, Maximian appointed a man named Carausius to sail a fleet against raiders in the English Channel. Carausius abused this power, and Maximian declared him an outlaw and sentenced him to death.⁹⁰ Carausius then had declared himself *augustus*, with the loyalty of his fleet and the British legions.⁹¹ Maximian marched against him with initial success, but could not capture him, and had no fleet with which to invade Britain.⁹² Around this time, both Diocletian and Maximian married their daughters to their praetorian prefects, Galerius and Constantius respectively.⁹³ Maximian continued to fail to remove Carausius, even with Diocletian supporting his flank with campaigns along the upper Rhine and Danube.⁹⁴ Carausius sought to be legitimized by Diocletian and Maximian and struck coins of himself as a typical *augustus*, as well as others in the names of Diocletian and Maximian.⁹⁵

Seemingly with the stakes too high to risk Maximian's failure against Carausius, the imperial college was expanded. On 1 March 293, Constantius and Galerius were appointed *caesares*, junior emperors and successors to the *augusti*, in formal ceremonies.⁹⁶ They were adopted by their respective senior emperor and became *Iovii* and *Herculii*.⁹⁷ These *caesares* were

⁹⁰ Barnes 1982: 10-16; Rees 2004: 7-8; Harries 2012: 28-31; Potter 2014: 278-80; Omissi 2018: 80-101.

⁹¹ The economic situation in Britain had remained poor after Aurelian reconquered Gaul. His coinage reform did not reach Britain, and naval defence of the channel had not been undertaken since. See Barnes 1982: 10-16; Rees 2004: 7-8; Harries 2012: 28-31; Potter 2014: 278-80; Omissi 2018: 80-101; Dolezal 2022: 157-61.

⁹² Bowman 2008: 78-80; Omissi 2018: 80-101; Dolezal 2022: 157-61.

⁹³ Constantius married Theodora, the daughter or stepdaughter of Maximian, in 289. Theodora was not the sister of Maxentius and Fausta, the children of Maximian and his wife Eutropia; most likely she was a daughter from a previous marriage. See Barnes 1982: 32-35; Williams 1985: 61-70; Leadbetter 2009: 60-62; Chen 2018: 44-50.

Galerius may have married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian, in 289 as well, but the date of their marriage is unclear. They were married before he became *caesar* in 293. See Barnes 1982: 30-32, 35-37; Williams 1985: 61-70; Leadbetter 2009: 60-62; Chen 2018: 44-50.

Galerius' *cognomen* is Maximianus, but to avoid confusion he is referred to by his *praenomen*, Galerius.

⁹⁴ Leadbetter 2009: 41-60; Potter 2014: 278-80; Omissi 2018: 80-101; Dolezal 2022: 157-61.

⁹⁵ Omissi 2018: 80-101. See *RIC* 5.2 pp. 461-62 for the titles used by Carausius on his coinage. Note those with the jugate busts of Maximian, Diocletian and Carausius and the obverse legend CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI (no. 1), indicating his desire to co-rule alongside Diocletian and Maximian.

⁹⁶ L'Orange 1965: 75-79; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Barnes 1982: 4-9; Corcoran 1996: 268-70; Rees 2004: 7-8; Harries 2012: 26; Waldron 2022: 222-32.

⁹⁷ Rees 2004: 7-8; Bowman 2008: 75-76; Leadbetter 2009: 61-70.

military men, like the *augusti*, and were unrelated to them until they were married into the families of the *augusti*, strengthening their connection. This was in line with Roman succession practices in the third century.⁹⁸ Constantius promptly sailed against Carausius while Maximian defended the Rhine. Constantius was successful.⁹⁹ For the next decade the two *caesares* would campaign continually along the northern and eastern frontiers, while the *augusti* turned their minds to administration.¹⁰⁰ All mints of the empire minted coins for all four emperors at this time.¹⁰¹

3. The Period of the First Tetrarchy, 293-305.

Between 293 and 305, Constantius continued to campaign against the Franks and other Germanic groups from his base in Trier, while Maximian dealt with rebels in Hispania and North Africa. In the East, the new *caesar* Galerius proved competent, defeating the Persians, after some unsuccessful attempts, and securing a favourable peace that would last fifty years, as well as campaigning along the Danube while Diocletian defeated revolts in Egypt.¹⁰² The division of the empire was very effective at defeating the empire's enemies, but the focus remained on security - despite victories against foreign enemies, the empire was not expanded greatly. This is particularly noticeable along the eastern frontier, where Galerius' victory over the Persians was crushing, yet the peace terms did not overextend the empire. The Persian lands on Rome's border in Mesopotamia were fertile and wealthy, but hard to defend, and Diocletian did not push to annex all of them, instead focusing on a stable frontier and trade concessions.¹⁰³ This defensive stance was part of a wide range of policies that the tetrarchy implemented which built upon but differed

⁹⁸ Bowman 2008: 75-76; Chen 2018: 56; Dolezal 2022: 172-9; Waldron 2022: 201-04.

⁹⁹ Barnes 1982: 10-16; Harries 2012: 30-31; Omissi 2018: 80-101.

¹⁰⁰ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Barnes 1982: 60-64; Leadbetter 2009: 82-97; Omissi 2018: 80-101.

¹⁰¹ *RIC* 6 pp. 4-11.

¹⁰² *Amm. Marc.* XIV. 10; Rees 2004: 12-4; Bowman 2008: 81-83; Daryee 2009: 10-13; Dolezal 2022: 167-71.

¹⁰³ Petrus Patricius, frag. 14, in *FHG* vol. IV, p. 189; Rees 2004: 14-6; Harries 2012: 35-8; Mitchell, Greatrex 2023: 74, 85.

from those of previous emperors. A focus on maximizing and organizing the internal capabilities of the Roman state can be seen in many of these policy changes.

Rampant inflation was an issue in the last half of third century, and Diocletian and Maximian attempted to solve this problem as well. The monetary system had largely remained the same since Nero's death in 68, with Caracalla and Aurelian attempting some reforms in the third century.¹⁰⁴ The silver *denarii* and *antoniniani*, which had been the core of the imperial monetary system, had been so debased in the third century that they contained only a small percentage of silver, and thus there were no high-grade silver coins being minted.¹⁰⁵ This combination of copper with only a small percentage of silver is called billon. Aurelian's reforms increased the silver content in the *antoniniani* to 5%, which made inflation worse.¹⁰⁶ From the reign of Aurelian to the coinage reform of Diocletian in 294, the monetary system was predominantly made up of gold *aurei* and billon *antoniniani*.

Diocletian introduced the 90% pure silver *argenteus* in 294 to fill this gap, along with a billon *nummus*, and new copper *folles*. High-grade gold *aurei* had been being minted in small quantities to pay soldiers since 286.¹⁰⁷ These changes failed to defeat the inflation, so new attempts were made in 301. An edict which attempted to re-tariff the coinage was introduced in September 301, and the Edict of Maximum Prices was introduced later that year.¹⁰⁸ The relation between these two edicts is unknown. The coinage edict is only known in fragments, while the prices edict is the best attested epigraphic text from antiquity.¹⁰⁹ It set maximum prices for a wide range of goods in

¹⁰⁴ *RIC* 5.1: 5-9; Depeyrot 1987: 96-98; Harries 2012: 12; Kallmes 2018: 1-5.

¹⁰⁵ These silver coins had lost 97% of their silver content in the third century. Alföldy 2003: 98-103; Bowman 2008: 76-78; Harries 2012: 11-12; Kallmes 2018: 1-5; Dolezal 2022: 200-05.

¹⁰⁶ Depeyrot 1987: 96-98; Watson 1999: 211-17; Kallmes 2018: 6-8; Dolezal 2022: 138-40.

¹⁰⁷ Depeyrot 1987: 35-44; Rees 2004: 40-1; Kallmes 2018: 1-5.

¹⁰⁸ Corcoran 1996: 205-15; Rees 2004: 41-4; Rees 2007: 107-13; Potter 2014: 326-29; Dolezal 2022: 200-05.

¹⁰⁹ Barnes 1981: 3-14; Corcoran 1996: 205-10; Chaniotis, Fujii 2015: 227-33.

an attempt to cut inflation and standardize economic activity across the empire. Its lengthy preamble describes a state overcome by greedy men and vice, which the emperors sought to save by forcing everyone to buy and sell goods within a set price, under fear of death.¹¹⁰ It failed, and the preamble shows an interestingly weak grasp of economic theory.¹¹¹ Its attempts to introduce rigid maximum prices across the large and diverse empire are reflective of the imperial effort to enforce standardization.¹¹² Again the focus on internal efficiency and predictability can be seen in the tetrarchy's attempts to defeat inflation and stabilise the economy. Even though security, tax, and administration could be standardized and governing made into more predictable formula, the economic situation could not be.

In addition to these policy changes, there were changes to the ceremonies surrounding the emperors.¹¹³ The ways in which the physical presence of the emperor communicated his position and authority in relation to his subjects were altered.¹¹⁴ The emperor's dress became more elaborate.¹¹⁵ Private audiences with the emperor disappeared, and his presence became a display that separated the emperor from the assembled persons and made his position appear less accessible.¹¹⁶ His physical presence was separated from his audience, raised on a dais, and veiled; the image of the emperor as the first amongst a cohesive group of equals was replaced with a clear image of distinct ranks and hierarchy.¹¹⁷ Some rituals and ceremonies, such as *proskynesis* in front of the emperor, became mandatory rather than expected, while others, such as kissing a part of the emperor's clothes, usually the hem of the emperor's cloak, called *adoratio purpurae*, were

¹¹⁰ Lauffer 1971: 90-7.

¹¹¹ Corcoran 1996: 215; Rees 2004: 41-4.

¹¹² Barnes 1981: 3-14; Potter 2014: 326-29; Dolezal 2022: 200-05.

¹¹³ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.2; Eutr. 9.26

¹¹⁴ Guidetti 2023:134-39; Rollinger 2023: 94-96, 115-18.

¹¹⁵ Potter 2018: 281-85; Guidetti 2023:121-24; Rollinger 2023: 94-96.

¹¹⁶ Elton 2018: 33-36; Rollinger 2023: 96-10.

¹¹⁷ Guidetti 2023: 119-21, 134-39; Rollinger 2023: 96-10.

introduced.¹¹⁸ Both of these examples had precedents before Diocletian, but their incorporation into public ceremonies and performances was novel.¹¹⁹

These were not new ideas and cannot be attributed to Diocletian introducing ‘eastern’ practices, but should be understood as changes in how the *de facto* authority and hierarchy of the imperial office was demonstrated.¹²⁰ Moreover, the hierarchy of *augusti* and *caesares* was also communicated in elaborate public ceremonies, including new forms of *adventus*.¹²¹ Different ceremonies were performed for the arrival, an *adventus*, and departure, a *profectio*, of an *augustus*, a *caesar*, or both.¹²² The *augustus* was made to be clearly superior to the *caesar*, with the *caesar* appearing as his assistant, but harmony in this relationship was highlighted through embrace.¹²³ The standardization present in the policy changes of Diocletian can also be seen in these ceremonies – the position of the *augustus* in relation to his subjects, the hierarchy of *augustus* and *caesar*, and the harmony of the imperial college were all communicated in codified ceremonies.

4. The Second Tetrarchy

To mark the end of the first tetrarchy, in another unprecedented move, Diocletian and Maximian retired on 1 May 305.¹²⁴ This event neatly displays the tetrarchy’s goals of stabilizing succession.¹²⁵ Diocletian and Maximian became *seniores augusti*, renouncing official power and

¹¹⁸ Elton 2018: 33-36; Rollinger 2023: 101-06, 115-18.

¹¹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2011: 92-95; Potter 2014: 281-85; Omissi 2018: 12-21; Rollinger 2023: 101-06, 115-81.

¹²⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2011: 92-95; Omissi 2018: 12-21; Hachler 2023: 194-95; Humphries 2023: 319-23; Rollinger 2023: 101-06, 115-18.

¹²¹ This was demonstrated in many ways, including the size of the *augustus*’ carriage in comparison to that of the *caesar*. Moreover, Diocletian left Nicomedia in a simple carriage after his abdication, indicating his renouncing of imperial powers. See Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 1, 19; L’Orange 1965: 194-201; Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

¹²² Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

¹²³ This relationship was demonstrated in many ways: the *caesar* would appear in a chariot rather than a carriage; he might walk in front of the *augustus*’ carriage; his *insignia* would be less elaborate. In art works the *caesares* are evidently younger in the Venice and Vatican groups; they stand when the *augustus* sits on the Arch of Galerius. See Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

¹²⁴ Diocletian became ill in 303, and this may have either caused or delayed the retirement. Barnes 1982: 30-35; Williams 1985: 61-70; Rees 2004: 7-8; Leadbetter 2009: 100-103, 134-38; Omissi 2019: 103-16.

¹²⁵ Potter 2014: 326-29; Waldron 2022: 222-32

retiring to provincial palaces.¹²⁶ Coins of these two continued to be minted, but with this new title.¹²⁷ Constantius and Galerius became *augusti*, and failed to rule harmoniously as Diocletian and Maximian had.¹²⁸ Severus, a friend of Galerius, was named *caesar* to Constantius, and Maximinus, a nephew of Galerius, was named Galerius' *caesar*.¹²⁹ These two new *caesares* were adopted into their respective *signa*, *Herculius* for Severus, and *Iovius* for Maximinus.¹³⁰ The adult sons of Constantius and Maximian, Constantine and Maxentius, were passed over in favour of non-hereditary adoption.¹³¹ Both Constantine and Maxentius had been groomed for the position of *caesar*: Constantine had a military career in the East under Diocletian and Galerius, and Maxentius was married to Galerius' daughter.¹³² The second tetrarchy lasted fourteen months, during which time the mints of the empire struck coins in the names of six emperors: two *seniores augusti*, two *augusti*, and two *caesares*.¹³³

5. The Death of Constantius and the Ensuing Civil Wars

Constantius died of illness while on campaign in Britain on 25 July 306.¹³⁴ His troops named his son Constantine, a career soldier, *augustus*.¹³⁵ Constantine sought legitimization from Galerius, the most senior emperor in the empire, but was partly rebuffed, only being granted the title *caesar* under Severus as *augustus*.¹³⁶ Constantine accepted, and the mints of the empire reflected this until

¹²⁶ Barnes 1982: 30-35; Williams 1985: 61-70; Leadbetter 2009: 100-103, 134-38; Potter 2014: 332-35; Omissi 2018: 103-16.

¹²⁷ The title *senior augustus* appears on the obverses of their coins as retired *augusti*. See chapter 2.1 and appendix 1.1 sections 8.4 and 9.4.

¹²⁸ Leadbetter 2009: 73, 142-43, 156-57; Omissi 2018: 103-116.

¹²⁹ Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 18-19; Barnes 1982: 4-9, 39; Rees 2004: 8; Chen 2018: 44-50.

¹³⁰ As well as taking the *cognomen* Valerius. See Barnes 1981: 15-27; Leadbetter 2009: 139-41; Manders 2018: 216.

¹³¹ Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 18-19; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Rees 2004: 9-11; Leadbetter 2009: 65-69; Dolezal 2022: 240-43.

¹³² Barnes 1981: 24-27; Waldron 2022: 194-96.

¹³³ Rees 2004: 87-89; Leadbetter 2009: 156-65. Also see chapter 2.1 and appendix 1.1 sections 8.4 and 9.4.

¹³⁴ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.4; Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 20; Barnes 1982: 4-9; Leadbetter 2009: 164-70.

¹³⁵ Constantine had left, perhaps fleeing, the court of Galerius and reached his father, Constantius, in Gaul shortly before he set sail for his campaign in Britain. See Barnes 1982: 15-27; Rees 2004: 9-11; Omissi 2018: 103-16; Waldron 2022: 168-72.

¹³⁶ Barnes 1981: 38-43; Leadbetter 2009: 177-88; Lenski 2016: 29-31; Omissi 2018: 103-16; Dolezal 2022: 407-13.

October of that year. Maxentius, jealous of Constantine, and taking advantage of unrest in Italy, declared himself emperor in Rome in October 306.¹³⁷ He also sought legitimization from Galerius, and to aid this request he did not declare himself *augustus* or *caesar*, but instead used the conciliatory title *princeps*.¹³⁸ He was rebuffed by Galerius, who ordered Severus to remove him.¹³⁹ Maxentius then declared himself *augustus*, or was declared *augustus* by the Senate.¹⁴⁰ Maxentius then recalled his father, Maximian, from retirement, and proclaimed him *augustus*.¹⁴¹ Severus' troops, formerly the troops of Maximian before his retirement, then abandoned Severus and he was captured in the spring of 307.¹⁴² As a result, Maxentius then controlled the mints at Ticinum, Aquileia, Rome, and Carthage. Maximian then traveled to Gaul to meet with Constantine. He declared Constantine *augustus* and married his daughter, Fausta, to Constantine in Trier in September of 307.¹⁴³ This created a college of three *augusti*, none of whom had gained power by way of Diocletian, or were recognized by Galerius, the senior *augustus*, or by his *caesar*, Maximinus. Galerius then invaded Italy, but was unable to besiege Rome and displace Maxentius, and retreated to Sirmium before facing a pitched battle against Maxentius.¹⁴⁴

Maximian then had a falling out with his own son and attempted to depose him publicly in Rome but failed and fled to the court of Constantine and Fausta in Gaul.¹⁴⁵ Maxentius stopped minting coins in the names of Maximian and Constantine at this time. A conference was then called

¹³⁷ This unrest was derived mainly from the taxation reforms of the first tetrarchy and their efforts to disband the praetorian guard. The relationship between Diocletian and the Senate is unclear, but they were not in open conflict. Barnes 1981: 28-32; Omissi 2018: 117-25; Dolezal 2022: 265-67; Hachler 2023: 194-95.

¹³⁸ Barnes 1981: 28-32; Rees 2004: 9-11; Betjes, Heijnen 2018: 6-12; Dolezal 2022: 265-67.

¹³⁹ Barnes 1981: 28-32; Rees 2004: 9-11; Leadbetter 2009: 177-88.

¹⁴⁰ Despite being married to Galerius' daughter, Galerius and Maxentius appear to have hated each other long before Maxentius revolted. See Barnes 1981: 28-32; Corcoran 2017: 59-64; Betjes, Heijnen 2018: 6-12.

¹⁴¹ Barnes 1981: 116-142; Rees 2004: 9-11; Leadbetter 2009: 177-88; Omissi 2018: 103-116.

¹⁴² Barnes 1981: 28-32; Omissi 2018: 103-16; Dolezal 2022: 268-76.

¹⁴³ Syme 1971: 240-42; Barnes 1982: 39-43; Lenski 2016: 29-31; Omissi 2018: 103-16; ; Dolezal 2022: 268-76, 407-13.

¹⁴⁴ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Leadbetter 2009: 193-97.

¹⁴⁵ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Leadbetter 2009: 188-90; Omissi 2018: 103-16.

at Carnuntum in November of 308 by Diocletian.¹⁴⁶ There it was decided that Galerius and Maximinus would continue as *augustus* and *caesar* in the East, Maxentius would give up power, Maximian would retire, and Constantine would return to being *caesar* in the West.¹⁴⁷ Licinius, a career soldier under Galerius, was to be named *augustus* in the West.¹⁴⁸ This did not settle matters. Licinius held onto Sirmium and the mint at Siscia while planning an invasion of Italy; Constantine continued to hold onto Gaul and Britain as *augustus*; and Maxentius remained in control of Italy as *augustus*.¹⁴⁹ Maximian did return to retirement but seemingly continued to serve Constantine.¹⁵⁰ The peace was tense, and Maximinus became dissatisfied with his position as *caesar* while the others were *augusti*. Galerius imposed the title *filius augustorum* on Constantine and Maximinus to please them. Constantine refused this title, while Maximinus used it to refer to Constantine, but not himself.¹⁵¹

This situation did not last, and Maximinus was declared *augustus* by his troops on 1 May 310, and Galerius accepted him as such.¹⁵² Galerius then became ill, which forced Licinius to take control of the Danube frontier and prevented his invasion of Italy.¹⁵³ Constantine, campaigning along the Rhine and consolidating his power in Gaul and Britain, faced a usurpation of his own at this time: Maximian, in command of some troops at Arles, perhaps defending Constantine's southern frontier from Maxentius, spread the rumour that Constantine had died and in response

¹⁴⁶ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Rees 2004: 10-11; Leadbetter 2009: 201-03.

¹⁴⁷ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Omissi 2018: 103-16; Dolezal 2022: 231-32.

¹⁴⁸ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Omissi 2018: 117-25.

¹⁴⁹ Licinius' territory had been a part of the West during the first tetrarchy but had been seized by Galerius in the aftermath of the death of Constantius.

Maxentius lost control of Africa in 308 but regained it by the end of 309. See Barnes 1981: 28-43; Barnes 1982: 4-9; Leadbetter 2009: 217-20; Omissi 2018: 116-142.

¹⁵⁰ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Dolezal 2022: 277-80.

¹⁵¹ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Dolezal 2022: 277-80. It appears on the coinage for Constantine and Maximinus at Siscia, Thessalonica, and Nicomedia (mints controlled by Licinius and Galerius), and only for Constantine at Antioch and Alexandria (mints controlled by Maximinus). See chapter 2.1 and appendix 1.1 sections 11.3, 13.2, and 14.1.

¹⁵² Barnes 1981: 28-43; Barnes 1982: 4-9.

¹⁵³ Barnes 1982: 195-98; Leadbetter 2009: 217-20; Dolezal 2022: 277-80.

had himself declared *augustus*.¹⁵⁴ His revolt failed, and Constantine besieged him at Marseilles. He was turned over by the citizens and killed himself in July of 310.¹⁵⁵ Constantine then invaded Italy, deposing Maxentius on 28 October of 312.¹⁵⁶ This placed Constantine in control of the mints of London, Trier, Lyons, Arles, Ticinum, Aquileia, and Rome.¹⁵⁷

After the death of Maximian in 310, and with the hostile emperors Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus in the East, Constantine immediately began searching for new ways to legitimize his power. He took advantage of Maxentius' unpopularity and had him depicted as an archetypal tyrant, while Constantine himself took on the image of the liberator of Rome, using old-fashioned titles reminiscent of emperors who were popular with the Senate, such as *optimus princeps*.¹⁵⁸ This won Constantine favour with the Senate, and they awarded him the title *maximus* in 312.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, panegyrics delivered in 310 and 311 in Trier hailed his descent from Claudius Gothicus (r. 268-70), albeit vaguely and admitting that the information was new.¹⁶⁰ This linked Constantine to an emperor recent enough to be remembered who was hailed as a hero for defeating the Goths, who was not a persecutor of Christians, and who had not murdered the previous emperor nor been murdered himself.¹⁶¹ Previously grounding his rule in the consent of Galerius to be *caesar* in the West, and then his elevation to *augustus* by Maximian with his marriage to Fausta, Constantine created a new form of legitimization that was not the dynastic politics of the tetrarchs.

¹⁵⁴ Barnes 1982: 32-35; Omissi 2018: 103-16.

¹⁵⁵ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Omissi 2018: 103-16; Dolezal 2022: 265-67.

¹⁵⁶ Barnes 1981: 28-43; Rees 2004: 9-11.

¹⁵⁷ The mint at Carthage was not reopened after Maxentius retook Africa in 309.

¹⁵⁸ Constantine co-opted Maxentius' image as the saviour of Rome. See Corcoran 2017: 70-71; Betjes, Heijnen 2018: 14-18; Macintye 2018: 177-78; Serfass, 2022: 829-33.

¹⁵⁹ Barnes 1981: 44-61; Lenski 2016: 32-35

¹⁶⁰ *Pan Lat* VI. 2.1-4; Syme 1971: 240-42; Humphries 2008: 92-97; Potter 2014: 344-46; Omissi 2018: 12-21; Dolezal 2022: 407-13.

¹⁶¹ Claudius Gothicus was also popular in Gaul, where the speeches were delivered. See Syme 1971: 244-45; Humphries 2008: 92-97; Lenski 2016: 32-35; Dolezal 2022: 407-13.

Galerius died in the first half of 311, and Licinius took control of the Balkans and Asia Minor, putting him in control of the mints at Siscia, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia.¹⁶² Maximinus remained in control of the East, along with the mints at Antioch and Alexandria. Constantine and Licinius then met at Milan in February of 313 and, amongst other things, agreed to split the empire in half between them.¹⁶³ Licinius then fought a war against Maximinus, using Maximinus' persecution of the Christians as part of his justification, and defeated him in April of 313, and Maximinus was eventually killed that summer.¹⁶⁴ This left Licinius in control of all the mints of the Balkans, Asia minor, and the East.

This situation lasted only three years. Tension between Constantine and Licinius surrounding the birth of a legitimate son and successor for Licinius, through Constantine's half-sister Constantia, led to war.¹⁶⁵ Constantine invaded Licinius' territory in 316, winning two victories before agreeing to a peace which saw him take control of all the Balkans except Thrace. This saw Constantine's two sons, Crispus and the infant Constantine II, and Licinius' son, Licinius II, named *caesares* indicating the abandonment of the dynastic politics of the tetrarchs in favour of something more akin to the Severans.¹⁶⁶ Constantine took control of the mints at Siscia, and Thessalonica, as well as opening one at Sirmium.¹⁶⁷ This peace was also short-lived, and Constantine invaded Licinius' territory again in order to guarantee the succession of his sons, and defeated Licinius in 324, leaving him in sole control of the whole Roman world, and all its mints,

¹⁶² Galerius died sometime before Licinius issued a law from Serdica on 9 June 311. See Barnes 1982: 195-98; Leadbetter 2009: 230-42.

¹⁶³ Barnes 1981: 62-77; Barnes 1982: 142-52; Barnes 2013: 90-93; Dolezal 2022: 297-304.

¹⁶⁴ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.31, 9.6.2; Barnes 1981: 28-43, 62-77; Barnes 1982: 195-98; Williams 1985: 186-200; Barnes 2013: 97-98.

¹⁶⁵ Barnes 2013: 101-03; Dolezal 2022: 307-14

¹⁶⁶ Barnes 1981: 62-77; Humphries 2008: 98-100; Bardill 2012: 14-18; Lenski 2016 : 60-65; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Omissi 2018: 142-52; Dolezal 2022: 307-14.

¹⁶⁷ Barnes 1981: 62-77; Omissi 2018: 142-52.

forty years after Diocletian split the empire with Maximian.¹⁶⁸ Constantine continued the elaborate ceremonies and dress policies of Diocletian, often emphasizing his divine favour with rhetoric surrounding light; for instance, he wore radiant purple and gold robes to the council of Nicaea in 325.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, he introduced the jeweled diadem, an aspect of the image of the Hellenistic kings and his divine right to rule, to both his portraits and public appearances.¹⁷⁰ Constantine combined aspects of the image of Diocletian, of the Hellenistic kings, and of Augustus to create an imperial image that was new in its own right.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Licinius was initially allowed to live as a private citizen in Thessalonica but was assassinated in 325. See Barnes 1981: 62-77; Barnes 2013: 103-06; Elton 2018: 58-59; Omissi 2018: 142-52; Dolezal 2022: 314-23.

¹⁶⁹ Euseb. *V. Const.* III.10.3; Carré 1999: 231; Lenski 2016: 48-51.

¹⁷⁰ Malalas. 13.8; Smith 1997: 176-79; Bardill 2012: 36-42; Lenski 2016: 38-39; Rollinger 2023: 94-96.

¹⁷¹ The Diadem had previously been refused by Julius Caesar and Augustus. Moreover, the introduction of the diadem in 324 corresponds with Constantine's victory over Licinius, his *vicenalia*, his selection of Byzantium as his new capital, and the Council of Nicaea. See Bardill 2012: 19-24, 36-42; Lenski 2016: 38-39; Betjes, Heijnen 2018: 14-18.

Chapter 2.1: Numismatic Titles of the First Tetrarchy

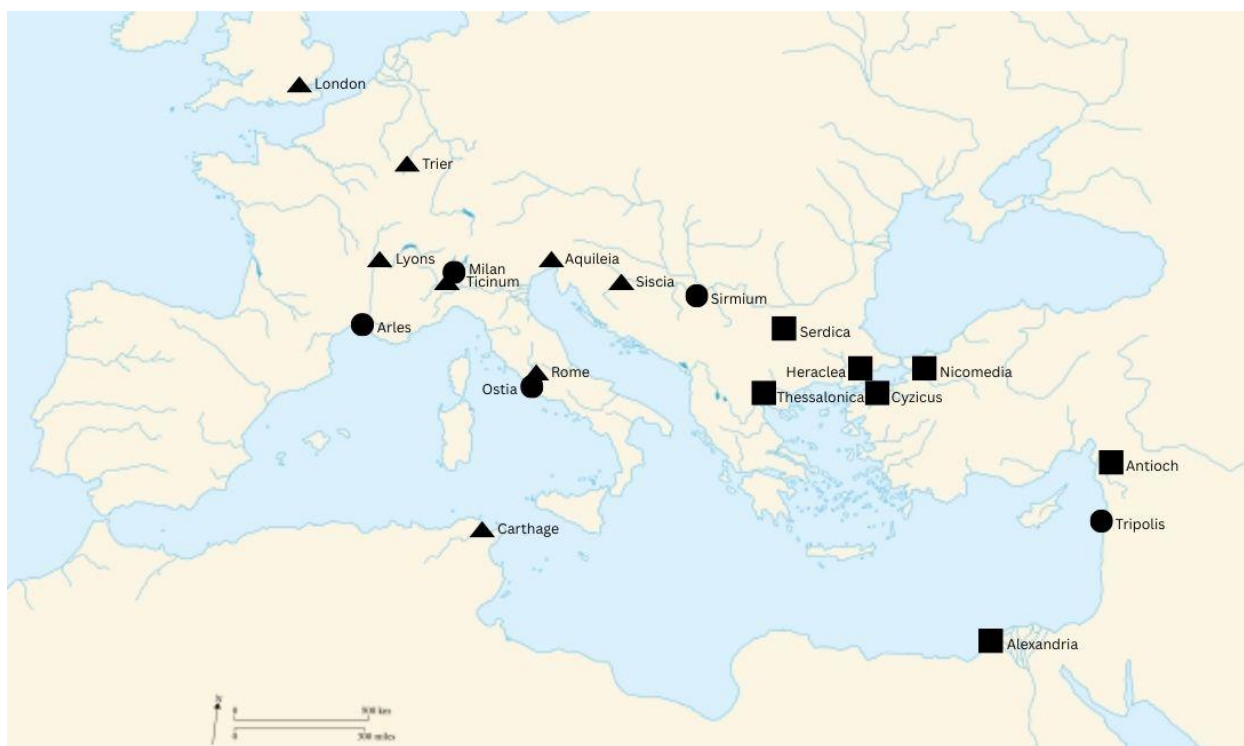
Preface

The titles and names of the emperors are often abbreviated. Expansions of abbreviations are given in the text the first time they appear. If the case or number of the title or name is changed from the nominative singular, then the abbreviation is expanded. Formulae with variations in the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen* are denoted with the emperor's *cognomen* between square brackets, e.g. [Aurelianus]. The emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen* are listed in a footnote the first time this occurs for each emperor.

To avoid long catalogue of *RIC* numbers only two types of each metal from each mint are provided. If five or fewer of one metal type are known, then all are listed. The *RIC* numbers for common title formulae are given in appendix 1.1. The metals have been divided into gold, silver, and billon; specific denominations are not necessary for this analysis. Billon coins are mostly copper with some silver content. Aurelian increased the silver content in his *antoniniani* to 5% and produced very few coins that were entirely bronze. For this analysis, the exact silver content is not important and all coins that are mostly copper are considered billon. Diocletian's coinage reform introduced 90% silver coins alongside billon and copper coins. The difference between the billon and copper coins is not important to this analysis and they are all considered under billon.

The mints in operation varied over time, with some opening and closing throughout the period of 270-324. The opening or closing of a mint will be noted in the text. Moreover, the metals employed, and quantities of types struck at each mint varied over time. When listed, the mints are given in a rough west to east order. The mints at Lyons, Ticinum, Rome, Siscia, Cyzicus, and Antioch were open throughout this period. Mints at London, Trier, an unattributed place in Gaul, Arles, Milan, Aquileia, Ostia, Carthage, Sirmium, Serdica, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Nicomedia,

Tripolis, and Alexandria, as well as an unattributed mint, were in operation at various times during this period. The mints at Siscia and further west are considered ‘western’ mints for this paper as this was the furthest east of the mints under the control of the Western emperors of the first and second tetrarchy. These are also all in Latin-speaking parts of the empire, and the legends of all imperial coins are in Latin. All the *RIC* numbers are for that emperor or that mint’s chapter in *RIC*.



Map 1: Mints of the Roman Empire, 270-324. Base map and scale courtesy of *historicaire* (place markers and labels my own).

- ▲ – Western mints active during the first and second tetrarchies (293-306).
- – Eastern mints active during the first and second tetrarchies (293-306).
- – Other mints active between the reign of Aurelian and the defeat of Licinius (270-324).

1. Titles on the Coinage from Aurelian to Numerian

Aurelian

Many obverse legends on Aurelian's coins contain very similar titles, but there is some variety. The most common formula for the titles given to Aurelian is IMP(erator) CAES(ar)/C(aesar) [Aurelianus] AVG(ustus).¹⁷² It appears at all mints and on all metals. Other formulae without *pius felix* are common, particularly from Milan. *Pius felix* appears on fewer coin types, and not all formulae containing it were minted across the empire. The mints at Siscia and Serdica minted a few other formulae on billon coins, none of which are common.

Appearing only on billon coins from the mint of Serdica are several obverse legends with rare titles.¹⁷³ The title *invictus* appears on the obverse of four coin types in three formulae.¹⁷⁴ This title had only first appeared on the coinage of any emperor during the reign of Claudius Gothicus about five years prior.¹⁷⁵ The title *deus et dominus* appears for the first time on any emperor's coinage during Aurelian's reign, on the obverse of two coin types in two different formulae.¹⁷⁶ *Dominus noster*, common in inscriptions for Aurelian, never appears on the coinage.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² See appendix 1.1 for the *RIC* numbers of titles for all emperors unless they are not listed in the footnotes. If the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen* vary for a formula, this will be indicated by the emperor's *cognomen* between square brackets. Aurelian's given names are Lucius Domitius, which either do not appear or are abbreviated. For a list of his title formulae see *RIC* 5.1 pp 263-64.

See appendix 1.1, section 1 for the *RIC* numbers of Aurelian's titles.

¹⁷³ This includes the curious AVRELIANVS AVG CONS(ecrator) (nos 319-22) on reverses with an image of Aurelian sacrificing; the obverse has a bust of Sol.

The meaning of CONS is unclear. It could be *consul*, which is usually abbreviated as COS, but CONS does appear on some coinage, most notably later on coins of Probus (examples include: *RIC* 5.2, Probus, nos 320-22), but also Vespasian (*RIC* 2, Vespasian no. 596), and Elagabalus (*RIC* 4, Elagabalus, no. 165), and is common in inscriptions (examples include *CIL* II: 1439, and 4104.). Given that these coins depict the emperor sacrificing, it is interpreted to be a reference to a dedication, *consecratio*. It could be a title, *consecrator*, or the verb *consecrare*, most likely in the third person singular perfect indicative active *consecravit*. See Watson 1990: 191.

¹⁷⁴ IMP C AVRELIANVS INVICTVS P AVG (no. 300); IMP C AVRELIANVS INVICTVS AVG (no. 301); IMP AVRELIANVS INVICTVS AVG (no. 302); IMP AVRELIANVS INVICT AVG (no. 303).

¹⁷⁵ See Claudius Gothicus no. 177. Also see his reverse legend INVICTVS AVG (no. 50).

¹⁷⁶ *Deus et dominus* appears in the dative on both coin types. IMP DEO ET DOMINO AVRELIANO AVG (no. 305) and DEO ET DOMINO NATO AVRELIANO AVG (no. 306).

¹⁷⁷ Examples include *CIL* II: 12333, and 13715.

The reverse legends of Aurelian's coins frequently contain his extended titles. Variations of P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate) CO(n)S(ul) P(ater) P(atriciae) appear, abbreviated, on eight types. Most often these titles appear on gold coinage, but those from the mint of Cyzicus appear on billon types. The most common title on Aurelian's reverses, and struck at multiple mints, is RESTITVT(or)/RESTITVTOR ORBIS, always on billon coins. Similar to this is the title PACATOR ORBIS. These were presumably introduced in reference to his victories over the breakaway Gallic and Palmyrene empires. More specific to his victory over the breakaway Palmyrene empire in Syria are RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR ORIENTIS and PACATOR ORIENTIS.¹⁷⁸ Also celebrating Aurelian's victories over defeated peoples are reverses with legends equivalent to the titles *Parthicus*, *Gothicus*, and *Germanicus*.¹⁷⁹ The title *princeps* appears on two reverses alongside *consul* and *augustus*.¹⁸⁰ Last, there are five rare billon reverses that refer to the emperor as a different type of *restitutor*.¹⁸¹

Fewer titles appear on the gold coinage of Aurelian, but there are also fewer types. On the gold coinage, aside from the most common titles, *imperator*, *caesar*, *pius felix*, and *augustus*, few other titles appear, and they only do so on reverses. They are *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, and *pater patriae*, all together, and *restitutor orientis*. None of these titles is exclusive to the gold coinage. On the billon coinage, the mint of Serdica minted all the coins with the obverse legends *invictus* or *deus et dominus*, as well as types with Sol on the obverse and

¹⁷⁸ *Restitutor orbis* (Valerian nos 50, 116-19, 149; Gallienus nos 91, 164, 234-36; Claudius Gothicus no. 189) and *restitutor orientis* (Valerian nos 287-87; Gallienus no. 448) were not first introduced by Aurelian; both had been used by Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius Gothicus in the decade before Aurelian's rule. They also used *restitutor galliarum* (Valerian no. 220; Gallienus no. 296) and *restitutor generis humani* (Gallienus nos 27-35). *Pacator orbis* and *pacator orientis* were first introduced by Aurelian.

¹⁷⁹ VICTORIA PARTICA (no. 240); VICTORIA GOTH (nos 339-40); VICTORIA GERM (no. 355), all billon coins.

¹⁸⁰ CONS PRINC AVG: on billon (nos 2, 3). Here CONS is taken to mean *consul*, see n. 173 above.

¹⁸¹ RESTITVT SAECVLI (nos 52, 235); RESTITVTOR EXERCITI (*sic*) (no. 366); RESTITVTORI GENTIS (nos 400-02).

consecrator on the reverse.¹⁸² Why this was the case is unclear. Perhaps Aurelian was based in Serdica at that time, but it demonstrates that Aurelian was not ordering all mints to employ the same titles. This means his image was not completely centrally controlled. That being said, *imperator caesar* was more common than *imperator*, and *augustus* was more common than *pius felix augustus* across all mints. Most of Aurelian's coinage used titles that were consistent with the emperors that came before him, seemingly without any separation in the messages between gold and billon coinage. The titles which came only from Serdica are consistent with the image of Aurelian that is present across the empire: that of a militaristic leader who had subdued the breakaway regions of the empire and restored order to the Roman world with the favour of *Sol Invictus*. The coins from Serdica present a more potent form of the same image.

Aurelian appears on the obverses of coins that depict his wife, Ulpia Severina, on the reverse. The legends on these coins are either IMP AVRELIANVS AVG or AVRELIANVS AVG, while she is always SEVERINA AVG(usta).¹⁸³ All four of these coin types are billon; their mint has not been identified. Ulpia Severina also appears on the obverses of twenty coin types by herself: on nineteen of these she is SEVERINA AVG(usta).¹⁸⁴ This formula comes from various mints across the empire. Six of these are gold coin types from Rome or Siscia, the others are billon. The titles of Severina on the coinage are less varied than those of Aurelian.

Tacitus and Florian

The titles on Tacitus' coinage are very similar to those of Aurelian. On obverses, the most common formula is IMP C [Tacitus] AVG.¹⁸⁵ It appears on gold and billon coins from mints across the

¹⁸² See nn. 172-75 above.

¹⁸³ See Aurelian and Severina: IMP AVRERLIANVS AVG (nos 1, 2, 4); AVRERLIANVS AVG (no. 3).

¹⁸⁴ See Severina: SEVERINA AVG (nos 1-18 20); on the other she is SEVERINA P F AVG (no. 19).

¹⁸⁵ Tacitus' *praenomen* and *nomen*, Marcus Claudius, are often abbreviated. For a list of his title formulae, see *RIC* 5.1 p. 324.

See appendix 1.1, section 2 for the *RIC* numbers of Tacitus' titles.

empire. Other formulae minted for Aurelian are also common for Tacitus. Tacitus has coin types with *invictus*, like Aurelian, and it is typically not abbreviated, or only abbreviated slightly, like Aurelian.¹⁸⁶ They are all billon from the mint of Serdica, like Aurelian's *invictus* types. There are also types with *consul*, all of which are billon.¹⁸⁷

The titles on the reverses of Tacitus' coins are also very similar to those of Aurelian. *Pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, and *consul* appear together in two variations, both only on gold coins: P M TR POT COS DES(ignatus) II in 275, and P M TR P CONSVL in 276.¹⁸⁸ *Pater patriae* does not appear on the coinage, but is common in inscriptions.¹⁸⁹ The only other titles to appear are consistent with those of Aurelian, and they appear mostly on gold coins.¹⁹⁰ In all, there does not appear to be any other connection between the metal or mint and the titles given to Tacitus. Tacitus reigned for only six months, so the image he sought to project was not realized. That being said, the more recently introduced titles, *invictus*, on obverses, and *restitutor orbis*, on reverses, appear on his coinage, probably carried over from Aurelian's image.

Florian, Tacitus' half-brother, reigned only eighty-eight days. Consequently, there is only a small variety of coin types from his reign, but they follow the same patterns. By far his most common obverse title formula is IMP C [Florianus] AVG.¹⁹¹ It is known from mints across the empire. Other title formulae that appear on coins of Aurelian and Tacitus also appeared on Florian's

¹⁸⁶ IMP C M CL TACITVS INVIC P F AVG (no. 200); IMP C [Tacitus] INVICTVS AVG (nos 194 197 202); IMP C TACITVS P F INVICTVS AVG (no. 196); IMP TACITVS INVICTVS AVG (no. 203).

¹⁸⁷ IMP C M CL TACITVS AVG COS III (no. 120); IMP C M CL TACITVS P AVG COS III (no. 121).

¹⁸⁸ PM TR POT COS DES II (no. 1), and PM TR P CONSVL (no. 70).

¹⁸⁹ Examples include *CIL* II 4635, and 4638.

¹⁹⁰ RESTITVTOR ORBIS (no. 55); VICTORIA GOTTHI (nos 171-3 199-200); VICTORIA GOTHICA COS II (no. 110).

¹⁹¹ Florian's *praenomen* and *nomen*, Marcus Annius, are often abbreviated. For a list of his title formulae see *RIC* 5.1 pg. 349.

See appendix 1.1, section 3 for the *RIC* numbers of Florian's titles.

billon coinage. There are no coin types with *invictus* or *consul*, a position he never held, but it does appear erroneously in inscriptions.¹⁹²

Only two titles appear on reverses: PACATOR ORBIS and PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(is).¹⁹³ The Florian PACATOR ORBIS type comes from the same mint as Tacitus' RESTITVTOR ORBIS type, which also minted PACATOR ORBIS types for Aurelian.¹⁹⁴ *Princeps iuventutis* was a common title on the coins of *caesares*, the designated successor of the *augusti*, but Florian was never *caesar* and never appointed a *caesar*. Moreover, there had been no *caesar* since Saloninus, who died in 260, so presumably a new die with PRINCIPI IVVENTVT had to be made for this issue.¹⁹⁵ It is not clear why.

Given the small sample size, there is not much that can be deduced from Florian's coinage. Like Aurelian, *imperator caesar* and *augustus* appear far more commonly than *imperator* and *pius felix augustus* across all mints for both Tacitus and Florian. Other titles that Aurelian used, such as *invictus*, *deus et dominus*, and *restitutor orbis* were either not minted or were rare for both Tacitus and Florian. Their image was not particularly notable, despite a few oddities, such as *principi iuventutis* and *designatus*.

Probus

Unlike Tacitus and Florian, Probus' coins have a great variety of types and titles, as he ruled for six years. Titles with a formula beginning in *imperator caesar* remain the most common, but there are others with only *imperator* or with neither. The most common types are IMP C [Probus] P/PIVS

¹⁹² *CIL* II: 1115; *CIL* III: 15085.

¹⁹³ PACATOR ORBIS (nos 7 -9); PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(is) (79-81).

¹⁹⁴ All are from Lyons/Gaul.

¹⁹⁵ PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS last appeared on the coins of Saloninus from 256 to 259 (examples include nos 3, 5).

F AVG, IMP C [Probus] AVG, and IMP C [Probus] P/PIVS AVG.¹⁹⁶ All three of these formulae appear on gold and billon coinage from across the empire. *Imperator caesar* also appears in IMP C [Probus] AVG CONS(ul) II/III/IIII/ V, on a large number of billon types from Ticinum.¹⁹⁷ Other formulae that appeared for Aurelian are common on gold and billon coins from across the empire. These formulae make up the majority of Probus' coin types. They largely resemble those of Aurelian, Tacitus, and Florian, although with more variation and the frequent addition of *consul* at Ticinum. *Pius felix augustus* is more frequent for Probus than for the previous three emperors, but it is rarer than just *augustus*.

The title *invictus* is far more common for Probus than for all the other emperors in this period. Most often it is found in the same formulae as used by Aurelian, but VIRTVS PROBI INVICTI AVG is unique to Probus. Unlike Aurelian, this title was employed by various mints and not just Serdica. It also appears on gold and billon coins. It remained most often unabbreviated, or sometimes partially.¹⁹⁸ *Deus et dominus* also appears for Probus on coins from Serdica, the same mint that produced it for Aurelian.¹⁹⁹ Also exclusively from Serdica, are legends with either *bono* or *perpetuo* before *imperator* or *imperator caesar*. Each appear with a variety of title formulae but are all quite rare, and their purpose is uncertain. Legends like these are unique to Probus, and they do not appear in his inscriptions.

Titles appear frequently on the reverses of Probus' coins. Most common are legends with *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestas*, *consul*, and *pater patriae*. Most often they appear all

¹⁹⁶ Probus' *praenomen* and *nomen*, Marcus Aurelius, are often abbreviated. For a list of Probus' title formulae see *RIC* 5.2 pp 18-19.

See appendix 1.1, section 4 for the *RIC* numbers of Probus' titles.

¹⁹⁷ IMP C [Probus] AVG CONS: on billon (examples include nos 320, 440).

Probus was consul in 277, 278, 279, 281, and 282 – *Chron. Min.* 1.60.

¹⁹⁸ The coinage of some emperors discussed later contain the further abbreviation IN(victus).

¹⁹⁹ IMP DEO ET DOMINO PROBO AVG (no. 841), and DEO ET DOMINO PROBO INVICTO AVG (no. 885), both are billon.

together as P M TR P COS P P, or a similar variation, from various mints and on gold and billon coins. Also common are legends referring to his victories, which appear on gold and billon coins from western mints. Further celebrations of his victories are legends with PACATOR or RESTITVTOR ORBIS, none of which came from the mint of Lyons, which had produced similar types for Tacitus and Florian. There are other *restitutor* types as well.²⁰⁰ *Princeps iuventutis* also appears on two coin types, one billon from Ticinum, which is where Florian's came from, as PRINCIPI IVVENT, and one gold from Cyzicus as PRINCIPIS IVVENTI (*sic*).²⁰¹ These reverse titles largely follow the same trends as Aurelian, Tacitus, and Florian if taken all together.

The titles used by Probus show much more variety than the previous three emperors, in large part due to his significantly longer reign. The most notable difference is the increasing use of *pius felix augustus*, which was becoming almost as common as just *augustus*. He used the title *invictus* far more frequently and continued to use *deus et dominus*, both on obverses, and *restitutor orbis*, on reverses, but none of them became common. There are more types with *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, and *pater patriae* on their reverse. These four titles remained most common on gold coinage and are spread across multiple mints. The other reverse titles appear mostly on billon coinage. His use of *invictus*, *deus et dominus*, and *restitutor* types foster his militaristic image, like that of Aurelian, but without the emphasis on Sol.

Carus and his sons

The reign of the emperor Carus was short but significant for the changes made to the titles of the emperor. He first ruled on his own but quickly named his son Carinus as his formal successor,

²⁰⁰ RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR SECVLI/SAECVLI (nos 253, 310, 400-06), RESTITVTOR EXERCITI (*sic*) (no. 909), and RESTITVTOR VRBIS (no. 926), all billon.

²⁰¹ PRINCIPI IVVENT (no. 318); PRINCIPIS IVVENTI (no. 892).

giving him the title *caesar*, before elevating him to *augustus* soon after that. He would later name his younger son, Numerian, *caesar* creating a college of three emperors.

Despite the creation of this college of three, the titles of Carus on the obverses of his coinage are similar to those of his predecessors. The main change is that the most common formula is IMP C [Carus] P F AVG.²⁰² It appears on gold and billon coinage from across the empire. Most other formulae come from mints west of Siscia. Variations in his name come from the mints of Lyons and Ticinum; those with KARVS come from these mints. Other formulae that appeared for Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, and Probus also appear for Carus. The only other titles to appear, and only on gold coins from the mint of Siscia are DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVIC(to) AVG and DEO ET DOMINO AVG.²⁰³ These titles were used by Probus and Aurelian as well but are less common for Carus. Carus did not introduced any new titles or title formulae, and, like his predecessors, the most frequent formulae include *imperator caesar* before his name, but *pius felix augustus* became far more common than just *augustus* during his reign. Other titles, notably *consul*, which he held for the second time in 283, are absent.²⁰⁴

There are only a few titles that Carus used on reverse legends. Titles appear on the reverses of only four known coin types of Carus. They are PRINCIPI IVVENTVT(is), RESTITVT ORBIS (on two types), and VIRTVS CARI INVICTI AVG(usti).²⁰⁵ This last title appears on a gold coin, while the other coins with *invictus* in the obverse legend are billon. The other coins with reverse titles appear on billon coinage. *Resitutor orbis* types came from the mint of Siscia, which minted

²⁰² The *praenomen* and *nomen* of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian are Marcus Aurelius, most often abbreviated. See appendix 1.1, section 5 for the *RIC* numbers of Carus titles.

²⁰³ DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVIC AVG (nos 99, 100); DEO ET DOMINO CARO AVG (nos 96, 99).

²⁰⁴ *Chron. Min.* 1.60.

²⁰⁵ PRINCIPI IVVENTVT (no. 61); RESTITVT ORBIS (nos 106-07); VIRTVS CARI INVICTI AUG (no. 117).

the same coins for Probus. The *principi iuventutis* coin came from the mint at Rome.²⁰⁶ None of the titles on the coins of Carus is out of the ordinary in comparison to his immediate predecessors. What is notable is the absence of reverses with *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, or *pater patriae*, which appear frequently in his inscriptions.²⁰⁷

There are coins on which Carus appears alongside Carinus. The titles used for Carus do not differ from coins which feature only him. All but two of the coins with Carus and Carinus come from the mint of Lyons, the others are one gold type each from Rome and Siscia. On coins with Carus on the obverse and Carinus on the reverse, IMP C M AVR CARVS P F AVG is the most common obverse legend.²⁰⁸ Carinus is either IMP C M AVR CARINVS AVG or IMP CARINVS P F AVG.²⁰⁹ On coins from Lyons with both Carus and Carinus on the obverse, the most common formula is [Carus] ET [Carinus] AVG (*sic*)/AVGG(ustorum).²¹⁰

Carinus ruled for longer than his father, if one counts his time as *caesar* and as *augustus*. His elevation from *caesar* to *augustus* can easily be seen in the titles used on his coinage. The coins from Carinus' time as *caesar* most often contain the title *nobilissimus caesar*, which is far more common than *caesar* on its own.²¹¹ *Imperator* erroneously appears in some formulae, but most coin types correctly do not include it. *Pius felix* appears on only two coin types, also

²⁰⁶ It was probably a die meant for a coin of Carinus as *caesar*.

²⁰⁷ Examples include *CIL* II: 3660, and 4760.

²⁰⁸ IMP C M AVR CARVS P F AVG: on gold (no. 133), and on billon (nos 136, 144).

²⁰⁹ IMP C M AVR CARINVS AVG (no. 136); IMP CARINVS P F AVG (no. 137).

²¹⁰ CARVS ET CARINVS AVGG: on billon (nos 139-43); CARVS ET CARINVS AVG (no. 138); KARVS ET KARINVS AVGG: on gold (no. 135).

The other type is a gold medallion from Siscia with IMPP(eratores) CARVS ET CARINVS AVGG (no. 146).

²¹¹ This title was first used for Geta from about 197 (examples include *CIL* III: 75, and 1451) but does not appear on his coinage.

It first appears on the coinage of Philip II in the 240s (no. 222), and then Herennius Etruscus (no. 138), Hostilian (no. 174), and Valerian II (no. 11) in the 250s.

erroneously. The most common formula is [Carinus] NOB CAES.²¹² This formula appears on gold and billon coins from all mints west of Cyzicus. Most of the variations in abbreviations come from the mints in Ticinum or Rome.

Nobilissimus caesar also appears in other formulae, some of which include the erroneous titles mentioned above, on gold and billon coins. There is also one coin type where he has no titles and appears simply as M AVR CARINVS, a billon coin from Rome.²¹³ All coins minted at Antioch and Tripolis erroneously contain *imperator*; only one coin with *imperator* came from a mint west of Cyzicus, an *aureus* from Siscia.

Only one title appears on the reverses of these coins, PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT/IVENTVTI(s).²¹⁴ It is very common, appearing on both gold and billon coins from mints west of Cyzicus. When Carinus appears on the reverse of coins with Carus on the obverse he is most often [Carinus] NOBIL CAES, but also appears once as M AVR CARINVS C.²¹⁵

During his time as *augustus*, his titles do not distinguish when he was ruling alongside his father from when he was ruling alongside just his brother and after his brother's death. There are coins which feature both Carus and Carinus as *augusti*, and coins which feature both Carinus and Numerian as *augusti*. There are also coins of Carus and Carinus struck when Carinus was *caesar*. Additionally, during his time as *augustus*, Carinus appears on the obverse of some coin types which feature his wife, Magnia Urbica, on the reverse. She also appears on some coins alone.

²¹² Carinus appears with and without his *praenomen* and *nomen*, always abbreviated as M AVR, and there are many variations and combinations in the abbreviations of both *nobilissimus* and *caesar*. See appendix 1.1, section 6.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Carinus titles as *caesar*.

²¹³ M AVR CARINVS (no. 170).

²¹⁴ IVENTVTI maybe be an erroneous declension of *iuventus* as a second declension noun instead of a third.

²¹⁵ [Carinus] NOBIL CAES (no 133-34, 144); M AVR CARINVS C (no. 145).

As *augustus*, Carinus' obverse legends follow much the same pattern as his father. The most common formula is IMP C [Carinus] P F AVG, which was struck at all mints except Lyons, and appears on gold and billon coins.²¹⁶ The other formulae that appear for his father also appear for him. Although *imperator caesar* was still more common than just *imperator*, even in an imperial college where the junior emperor was *caesar*, *imperator* on its own was more common for Carinus than it was for Carus.

There are four coin types where Carinus features alongside Numerian, all of which come from Rome, one gold and three billon. When they are both on the obverse the legend is CARINVS ET NVMERIANVS AVGG.²¹⁷ When Carinus is on the obverse and Numerian is on the reverse, Carinus is IMP CARINVS AVG and Numerian is NVMERIANVS AVG.²¹⁸ There are two coins on which Carinus is on the obverse and Magnia Urbica is on the reverse. He is IMP CARINVS P F AVG on one, and IMP CARINVS AVG on the other.²¹⁹ *Caesar* does not appear on these coins, although the sample size is small.

There are very few titles on the reverse of Carinus' coins, and they most often appear on gold coinage. Unlike his father, there is one coin type with P M TR P COS P P, a gold coin from Rome.²²⁰ The other types with reverse titles are two gold types with VICTORIA GERMANICA, and two billon coins with PRINCIPI IVVENT.²²¹ These last two were probably errors carried over from his time as *caesar*. These do not mark any particular shift in titles from his predecessors, aside from their decrease in frequency.

²¹⁶ See appendix 1.1, section 6.2 for the *RIC* numbers of Carinus as *augustus*.

²¹⁷ CARINVS ET NVMERIANVS AVGG (nos 330-32). On the coins where he appears alongside his father or brother on the obverse, they usually only have one title, *augustus*, but this could be a result of space constraints.

²¹⁸ IMP CARINVS AVG (no. 333).

²¹⁹ IMP CARINVS P F AVG (no. 334); IMP CARINVS AVG (no. 335).

²²⁰ P M TR P COS P P (no. 226).

²²¹ VICTORIA GERMANICA (nos 319-20); PRINCIPI IVVENTVT (nos 267, 302).

The wife of the emperor appears on her own coinage for the first time since Ulpia Severina, the wife of Aurelian, about a decade before. Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus, appears on sixteen known coin types, some gold and some billon, from four different mints. She is always [Urbica] AVG(usta).²²² Coins from Lyons and Rome are in the nominative; those from Siscia are in the dative. Like Ulpia Severina, she is not given any other titles on the coinage.

Numerian's coinage from his time as *caesar* follows the same trends as the coinage of his brother, but *pius felix*, correctly, does not appear.²²³ Like Carinus, PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENVT/IVVENTVTI, is the only title to appear on a reverse of Numerian as *caesar*. The junior emperors in Carus' imperial college were most often referred to as *nobilissimus caesar*, but *caesar*, on obverses, and *princeps iuventutis*, on reverses, were also commonly used to refer to them as well. *Imperator*, given its consistent erroneous use at eastern mints, appears to have been understood as a title of the *caesar* at this time, perhaps due to their age or career; Carinus was a seasoned soldier by this time.

Numerian's titles as *augustus* follow the same trends as his brother and father. The most common is IMP C [Numerianus] P F AVG.²²⁴ Other formulae appear, mainly from Ticinum. On coins where he features alongside Carinus, or on the reverse of an obverse of Carinus, he is always NVMERIANVS AVG.²²⁵ Like his brother, very few titles appear on his reverses. There is one gold type with P M TR P COS P P, one billon with PACATOR ORBIS, and seven other billon types with PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT.²²⁶ Given that Numerian's short reign occurred while he

²²² Magnia Urbica may be abbreviated MAGNIA/MAGN(ia)/MAG(nia) VRBICA, or just VRBICA.

[Magnia Urbica] AVG: on gold (nos 336, 339-40, 348), and on billon (examples include nos 337-38); MAGNIAE VRBICAE AVG: on gold (no. 348), and on billon (nos 349-50).

²²³ See appendix 1.1, section 7.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Numerian as *caesar*.

²²⁴ See appendix 1.1, section 7.2 for the *RIC* numbers of Numerian as *augustus*.

²²⁵ CARINVS ET NVMERIANVS AVGG (nos 330-32); NVMERIANVS AVG (no. 333).

²²⁶ P M TR P COS P P (no. 427); PACATOR ORBIS (no. 390); PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT (nos 417-421, 444-45).

was on campaign in the east, it is no surprise that his coins mark no change from those of his brother and father.

Analysis: titles on the coinage from Aurelian to Numerian

In this time period, *pius felix augustus* became more frequent than just *augustus* after the emperor's name in obverse legends, and *imperator caesar* remained more common than just *imperator* before the emperor's name, despite the presence of an imperial college with a junior emperor named *caesar*. Junior emperors, or designated successors, had been named *caesar* or *nobilissimus caesar* for centuries at this point, so it was not new for the *augustus* to keep the title *caesar* alongside his other titles. The other long-established titles and offices of the emperors, namely *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, and *pater patriae*, did not commonly appear in this period, and were decreasing in use. Other titles used by the emperors in this period, notably *invictus*, *deus et dominus*, and *restitutor orbis*, fluctuated in use between emperors but were never particularly common.

The majority of these titles and title formulae appear on both the gold and billon coinage and from mints across the empire. It is the more recent additions to the emperor's titles that usually come from select mints. This can most clearly be seen in the legends with *deus et dominus* coming from only from a single mint for each emperor: Serdica for Aurelian and Probus; Siscia for Carus. The same pattern can be seen for specific titles: *invictus* (Aurelian) from Serdica; *bonus* and *perpetuus* (Probus) from Serdica; and *consul* (Probus) from Ticinum.

2. Titles on the Coinage from Diocletian to the Coinage Reform of 294

Dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian

The imperial college that Carus created with his sons was short lived, lasting only one year, ending with the death of Numerian in 284. The influence of the joint rule of Carus and his sons can be seen in the titles used by Diocletian and his colleagues. The titles which appear during the dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian are the same as those that appear for the previous group of emperors, and in similar frequencies and patterns to those of Carus, Carinus and Numerian.

The reigns of Diocletian and Maximian were long, and the titles and epithets that appear on their coinage changed over time. There are four divisions of their rule: the sole reign of Diocletian in late 284 and 285; as joint *augusti* between 285 and 293; as joint *augusti* in the tetrarchy from 293 to 305; and as *seniores augusti* in their retirements, 305 to 312 for Diocletian, and 305 to 310 for Maximian. There are also two occasions during which Maximian usurped power in the West after his retirement, between 306 and 308, and again in 310. These phases can be seen on the coinage, where imperial changes were quickly communicated to all mints.

The sole rule of Diocletian does not contain any unique titles and will be considered jointly with his time as co-*augustus* between 285 and 293. The titles on both the obverses and reverses of the coinage in this period generally continue the same trends as those of his immediate predecessors. IMP C [Diocletianus] P F AVG is the most common title formula in this period, and it appears at all mints and on a variety of gold and billon coins.²²⁷ The other formulae that appeared for the emperors previously discussed also appear for Diocletian in this period. Those with *imperator caesar* are more common and more widespread than those with just *imperator*. Legends

²²⁷ Diocletian's *praenomen* and *nomen*, Gaius Valerius, always appear abbreviated. See appendix 1.1, section 8.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Diocletian's titles from 293 and before.

with just *imperator* and/or without his *praenomen* and *nomen* are more common from mints west of Siscia. There is a distinction between metals for legends with no *praenomen* or *nomen* and no titles other than *augustus*: DIOCLETIANVS AVG appears exclusively on billon coinage from Lyons; DIOCLETIANVS AVGVSTVS appears almost only on gold coins, with the exception of billon coins from Lyons. The only obverse legend with any other titles is DIOCLETIANVS AVG COS IIII P P, on a gold type from Antioch.²²⁸

There are noticeably fewer coin types with variations in his *praenomen* and *nomen* in comparison to his predecessors. This is particularly surprising given that this period is twice the length of any of the other emperors' reigns. Perhaps this indicates more central control or regulation over the mints, although those that do contain his names most often come from mints in the East. Either way, *imperator caesar* is far more common than just *imperator* for Diocletian in this period. Unlike Carus or his sons, the titles *consul* and *pater patriae* appear, but only on one type.

The obverses of Maximian from this time period are nearly identical to those of Diocletian. There is more variety, but the differences are in the given names of Maximian and not in the titles given to him. IMP C [Maximianus] P F AVG and IMP C [Maximianus] AVG are the most common formulae, appearing on gold and billon coins from mints across the empire.²²⁹ Other formulae with these titles appear, with most variations coming from western mints.²³⁰ Those with just *imperator* before his names come almost exclusively from the West. Like Diocletian there is a distinction

²²⁸ DIOCLETIANVS AVG COS IIII PP: on gold (no. 312).

²²⁹ Maximian's *praenomen* and *nomina* Marcus Aurelius Valerius are most often abbreviated M(arcus) AVR(elius) VAL(erius).

See appendix 1.1, section 9.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Maximian's titles from 293 and before.

²³⁰ The mint of Lyons produced some coins on which Maximian is given the *praenomen* and *nomen* C(aius) VAL(erius), which are Diocletian's, instead of Marcus Aurelius Valerius, Maximian's *praenomen* and *nomen*. Most likely this was simply a mistake. Examples include nos 368, 377-78.

between gold and billon coinage for coin types that only have the emperor's *cognomen* followed by *augustus*.²³¹ There are no types with *consul* or *pater patriae* for Maximian.

There were some coins minted with Diocletian on the obverse and Maximian on the reverse. The titles on these coins follow the same formulae as all their other coins, although the two emperors do not always have the same titles. There are five types, all minted before 293 from either Lyons or Siscia.²³² These formulae are not atypical for these emperors in any way. Notably, there are fewer types with both Diocletian and Maximian in this nine-year period than there were with both Carus and Carinus, who shared power for less than one year.²³³

Pontifex maximus, *tribunicia potestate*, and *proconsul* appear only on the reverses of these emperors. Aside from a single coin type of Diocletian, *consul* and *pater patriae* appear only on reverses as well. There are thirteen coin types of Diocletian that contain one of these five titles, ten of which are gold types from eastern mints. There are fifteen examples of coin types with at least one of these titles on the reverses of Maximian, thirteen of which are gold types from the East. Like their predecessors, there appears to be a concerted effort to use these titles, the oldest titles in use by the emperors at this time, on gold coinage. Perhaps this indicates that the emperors were trying to communicate a more traditional image to the elites who would have been handling the gold coinage, while sending a different message to those handling predominantly billon coins, or simply the elites are the members of society who would have understood the significance of those

²³¹ MAXIMIANVS AVGVSTVS: on gold (examples include nos 488, 596, 609), and billon (no. 524)

²³² IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG / IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG (no. 334); [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG/AVGVSTVS (nos 335-38).

²³³ There are a comparable number, seven, coins with both Valerian and Gallienus, who jointly ruled between 253 and 260. See *RIC* 5.1 nos 1-7. Their names do not appear on these coins.

titles and offices. Other titles used on some reverses of Aurelian, Probus, and Carus, such as *deus et dominus*, *restitutor orbis*, or victory titles, are absent for both Diocletian and Maximian.

Augusti of the first tetrarchy, 293-94

Upon the establishment of the tetrarchy in 293, the titles on the coinage of Diocletian and Maximian changed. For both emperors, regardless of metal, the title *imperator caesar* became less common in comparison to *imperator*. It is difficult to date coins to such a small range of time, but there are roughly 128 known coin types of Diocletian and Maximian minted between 293 and the reform of the imperial coinage, probably in 294.²³⁴ Of the fifty-nine known coin types for Diocletian, twenty-eight contain *imperator*, nine have *imperator caesar*, and twenty-two have neither; IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG is the most common formula.²³⁵ This is even more evident on the coins of Maximian: of the sixty-nine types minted between 293 and the coinage reform, thirty contain *imperator*, seven *imperator caesar*, and thirty-two have neither; MAXIMIANVS P F AVG is the most common formula.²³⁶

The dropping of *imperator caesar* in favour of *imperator* from much of the coinage aligning so closely with the establishment of the tetrarchy perhaps indicates an imperial directive to change the titles given to the emperors. Diocletian and Maximian appear to have wanted to signify the division of the imperial college into *augusti* and *caesares* immediately upon its creation. Regarding reverse titles, CONSVL V P P PROCOS appears on one gold type for Diocletian, and CONSVL IIII P P PROCOS appears on one gold type for Maximian, both from Antioch.²³⁷ Finally,

²³⁴ At the very least these are pre-reform coins minted towards the end of the dyarchy period. These are coins dated to 293 and after by *RIC*.

²³⁵ See appendix 1.1, section 8.2 for the *RIC* numbers of Diocletian's titles from 293-94

²³⁶ See appendix 1.1, section 9.2 for the *RIC* numbers of Maximian's titles from 293-94.

Almost all of these coin types, for both emperors, come from mints west of Siscia. Only eleven come from the East, of which nine have *imperator caesar*, and two have no titles before the emperors' name.

²³⁷ CONSVL V P P PROCOS (no. 309); CONSVL IIII P P PROCOS (no. 611).

in contrast to Carus and his family, there are no female relatives of either Diocletian or Maximian on the coinage between 284 and 294, or any other time.

Caesares of the first tetrarchy, 293-94

The first tetrarchy started with the appointment of Constantius I and Galerius to the position of *caesar* on 1 March 293. The titles given to the *caesares* reflect their lesser role in comparison to the *augusti*. The complete set of titles for the *caesares* can be found in the Edict of Maximum Prices, an official declaration from the imperial office in 301, in which they are named with their victory titles; how many times they had held *tribunicia potestas*; how many times they had been named *consul*; and as *nobilissimus caesar*.²³⁸ The emperors jointly claimed victory titles over all peoples defeated during their reign.²³⁹ *Consul* was not a title or position exclusive to the emperor but had only been used on the coinage of one previous *caesar*, Geta.²⁴⁰ Constantius and Galerius were both named *consul* for the first time in 294, around the time of the coinage reform.²⁴¹

Constantius and Galerius appear on some pre-reform coinage. On all but one of these coin types their only title is *nobilissimus caesar*.²⁴² There are fewer abbreviations for *nobilissimus caesar* than for Carinus and Numerian. *Nobilissimus* is always abbreviated NOB, and *caesar* is either CAES or C.²⁴³ The only title to appear on their reverses is *princeps iuventutis*, in the form

²³⁸ *CIL* III: EDICT, p. 824; Lauffer 1971: 90.

²³⁹ Between 293 and September 301, the date of the edict, this is Sarmaticus maximus II, Persicus maximus II, Britannicus maximus, Carpicus maximus, Aremnicus maximus, Medicus maximus, and Adiabenicus maximus.

²⁴⁰ *Consul* does not appear on the coinage of Carinus or Numerian but does appear in the epigraphic record on four occasions, three times for Carinus (*CIL* II 4103, 14930; *CIL* VIII 5332) and once for Numerian (*CIL* VIII 10283). *Consul* appears on the coinage of Geta in 205 (nos 27-38) and 208 (nos 58-66a). Geta did not take TR P until he was *augustus* - see Geta nos 67-69.

²⁴¹ Barnes 1982: 93-94.

²⁴² Constantius' *praenomen* and *nomen*, Flavius Valerius, are always abbreviated FL(avius) VAL(erius). Galerius' *praenomen* and *nomen*, Galerius Valerius, are most often abbreviated GAL(erius) VAL(erius). His *cognomen* is Maximianus, but he is referred to by his *praenomen* Galerius for this paper to avoid confusion with Maximian (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus).

See appendix 1.1 sections 10.1 and 11.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Constantius and Galerius titles in 293-94.

²⁴³ The only exception to this title is attested from only one coin, the erroneous IMP GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES (no. 718), the existence of which is doubtful.

PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT/IVVENTVTI. Coins with this title came from the mints of Rome and Ticinum only. Unlike Carinus and Numerian there appears to have been a more planned or better communicated way of addressing these junior emperors: the title to address them was only *nobilissimus caesar*, while *caesar* was most often dropped from *imperator caesar* in the title of the senior emperors.

Analysis: titles on the coinage from Diocletian to the coinage reform of 294

Between 284 and 293, the obverse titles of Diocletian and Maximian were very similar to those of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian. IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG is the most common formula on the obverse of gold and billon coins. Other legends with the same titles in different combinations were common as well. Those with *imperator caesar* were more common than those with just *imperator*. Legends without the emperors' *praenomen* and *nomen* were more common in the West, as were formulae with just *imperator*. Before the coinage reform of 294 but after the establishment of the tetrarchy in 293, *imperator* became more common than *imperator caesar* at western mints. *Imperator caesar* remained the common set of titles before the emperors' names at eastern mints. Throughout the whole period of 284 to 294, *invictus*, *deus et dominus*, *bonus*, and *perpetuus*, all used by emperors in the previous decade, never appeared.

As was the case for Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, there were few titles on the reverses of Diocletian and Maximian. The difference is that Carus and his sons only ruled about three years, while this period of Diocletian and Maximian stretches over ten. In comparison to Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, and Probus, Diocletian and Maximian used significantly fewer reverse titles, and those that were used only appear on a few types. *Restitutor orbis*, and similar titles, do not appear. *Pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, *pater patriae*, and *proconsul* are the only titles to appear on reverses; they only appear on a few types and from specific mints. Toward the end of

this period, CONSVL P P PROCOS, is the only reverse title formula to be used, and only on gold coins at Antioch. Before the coinage reform of 294, Diocletian and Maximian had begun reducing the number of titles on their coinage, particularly on reverses.

Pre-reform coins of Constantius and Galerius are only known from a small sample size. Those that are known only contain one title on the obverse, *nobilissimus caesar*. Very few or no coins were minted with a legend containing *imperator* or *pius felix*. *Princeps iuventutis* is the only title to appear on their reverses.

3. Titles of the Coinage of the First Tetrarchy, 294-305

Augusti of the first tetrarchy, 294-305

The official titles of Diocletian and Maximian from the coinage reform of 294 up to their retirement in 305 do not differ from those before 294. Per the Edict of Maximum Prices, their titles were: IMP CAESAR [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P(ius) F(elix) INV(ictus) AVG(ustus) PONT(ifex) MAX(imus), their victory titles, TRIB(unicia) P(otestatas) CO(n)S(ul) IMP(erii) P(ater) P(atriae) PROCO(n)S(ul).²⁴⁴ There is a change in the way they are used on their coinage after 294. After the coinage reform there is a clear distinction between the titles given to the emperors depending on the metal of the coin. Moreover, particularly on the billon coinage, there is a distinction between western and eastern mints. Although not every known coin type had one version for Diocletian and one for Maximian, their titles follow the same patterns.

On the billon coinage, *imperator caesar* and *imperator* appear on almost every type. The eastern mints had very little variety among them. All the eastern mints minted billon coins for the *augusti* with the formula IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG, with the emperors'

²⁴⁴ *CIL* III: EDICT p.824; Lauffer 1971: 90.

praenomina and *nomina* appearing on almost all of these coins.²⁴⁵ The only exceptions are coins from Antioch and Alexandria without Diocletian's *praenomen* and *nomen*. In contrast, the emperors' names are uncommon on billon coins from the western mints. There was significant variation in the obverse legends from western mints in comparison. The most common formula is IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG, but IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG was also common at some mints. The only western mint to not mint IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG types was Ticinum. IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG was the most common formula from the mints of Trier, Aquileia, and Carthage. Neither formula was clearly dominant at London, Lyons, or Siscia, although IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG appears to have become more common later in this period. There were coins minted with other formulae of the same titles, most of which came from London or Trier.

The silver coinage has different obverse titles than the billon. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG appears on the vast majority of silver coins at all mints. The few types with different formulae all came from western mints. There are very few reverse types at all. No titles appear, but the equivalent of *sarmaticus* in the form VICTORIA [*sarmatica*] does.²⁴⁶ It appears on coins for both emperors and from most mints which were minting silver coins. The silver coinage has the most uniform titles of the metals across all mints, particularly in the East. *Victoria sarmatica* is unique to it, and [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG appears on the vast majority, while appearing on relatively few gold and billon types. Diocletian's reform was the first time the silver coinage had been fully reformed in a long time, so the tetrarchs were using the reform to display this particular image of victory. It collapsed by 301, after which far fewer silver coins were struck.

²⁴⁵ See appendix 1.1, section 8.3 and 9.3 for the *RIC* numbers of Diocletian and Maximian's titles from 294-306.

²⁴⁶ Hebbelwhite 2023: 177-78. *Sarmatica* is presented here in square brackets because of its many abbreviations. It is abbreviated SARM, SARMA, SARMAT, and SARMATIC, as well as appearing in full, SARMATICA.

For both *augusti*, [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus) is the most common obverse legend on their gold coinage from both western and eastern mints. Only one gold coin type has either emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*.²⁴⁷ This is the formula they both have on the only known gold coins with Diocletian on the obverse and Maximian on the reverse.²⁴⁸ [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG(ustus) is also common, while [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVGVSTVS only appears on gold coinage. Both are found on coins from both western and eastern mints. There is also one gold type with DIOCLETIANVS AVG that has both Diocletian and Galerius on the obverse.²⁴⁹ Only four other formulae appear on gold coins, all of which are known from only a few types; some types from Trier have *consul* in the obverse legend.

There are few coins of these emperors with titles on the reverse at all, and all of the coins that do have them are gold.²⁵⁰ There is one PACATORES GENTIVM type for each *augustus*, as there is for each *caesar*.²⁵¹ Diocletian is referred to with his *signum Iovius* on two types, both of which are *vota* types from Trier.²⁵² On one of these he is also *consul*. All other types with reverse titles, for both *augusti*, follow the CONSVL P P PROCOS/PROC(on)S(ul) formula. Most of them come from Antioch; the others come from Siscia. They each held the consulship five times in this period, jointly except in 296 (Diocletian only) and 297 (Maximian only).²⁵³ For both emperors, there were coins struck for each year they held the office. The CONSVL P P PROCOS formula was introduced by Diocletian and Maximian on gold coins from Antioch in 290 for their third and fourth consulships respectively. It differs from the similar PM TR P COS P P formula that they had

²⁴⁷ AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS: Trier (no. 1).

²⁴⁸ DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG / MAXIMIANVS P F AVG (Ticinum no. 6).

²⁴⁹ DIOCLETIANVS AVG ET MAXIMIANVS C (Trier no. 2).

²⁵⁰ With the exception of silver coins with *victoria sarmatica*, which is not exactly a title.

²⁵¹ PACATORES GENTIVM: Trier (nos 65a, 65b).

²⁵² *Vota* are vows given on celebrations of the emperors anniversaries of rule, typically every five years. See Depeyrot 1987: 81-84. PRIMI/XX/IOVI AVG/COS VIII: Trier (no. 75); PRIMI/XX/IOVI AVGVSTI: Trier (no. 76).

²⁵³ Barnes 1982: 91-94.

used previously and had been frequently used by their predecessors. In particular, *proconsul* was being reintroduced on the coinage, abbreviated only slightly.²⁵⁴ It is common in inscriptions for their predecessors.²⁵⁵ *Pontifex maximus* and *tribunicia potestate* did not appear on their coinage in this period, despite being one of their official titles and having appeared on coinage before the establishment of the tetrarchy.

Diocletian's coinage reform introduced a more predictable set of titles for each the gold, silver, and billon coinage than existed for Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, or Carus and his sons. For Aurelian, IMP C [Aurelianus] AVG was most common, but by the reign of Numerian IMP C [Carinus/Numerianus] P F AVG had become more common. Although the same titles were used during the tetrarchy, certain formulae were clearly used for each metal. This is most noticeable at the eastern mints, where the billon coinage almost uniformly has the legend IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*, the silver coinage has [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG, and the gold coinage has [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG. No such uniformity was present amongst the mints or between metals for any of the previous emperors discussed. At western mints, the same formulae are dominant for the gold and silver coinage, but there is more variation in the legends on billon coinage. IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG, without the emperors' *praenomen* and *nomen*, became the most common, although the same formula with *imperator caesar* was still common. The dropping of *caesar* from *imperator caesar* appears to have started at these mints in 293 with the establishment of the tetrarchy.

²⁵⁴ PROCOS is common in inscriptions for the emperors preceding Diocletian. See chapter 2.2 and appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4. *Proconsul* was a standard title of the emperors alongside *imperator caesar*, *pius felix invictus augustus*, *pontifex maximus*, and *pater patriae*. See Barnes 1983: 23-29.

²⁵⁵ For Aurelian examples include *CIL* III: 6238, and 7586; for Probus examples include *CIL* II: 3738, and 4881.

No titles appear on the reverses of billon coinage of either *augusti* between 294 and 305. They were uncommon for both *augusti* in the decade before the coinage reform as well. This is a noticeable decrease in comparison to the use of titles on the reverses of Probus and Aurelian. Those emperors often used *restitutor orbis*, or similar titles, on their billon reverses, a title that the tetrarchs never used on their coinage. Other titles to appear on their billon reverses, victory celebrations and formulae like P M TRP COS P P for example, only appear on silver and gold types, respectively, for the tetrarchs.

Caesares of the first tetrarchy, 294-305

After the coinage reform of 294, both *caesares* started to appear on gold and silver coinage in addition to the billon coinage. Their titles did not change significantly. [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR remained by far the most common, but just [Constantius/Galerius] CAES/CAESAR appears as well.²⁵⁶ Only one other title, *dominus noster*, appears on their obverses.²⁵⁷ Their titles are divided by metal type.

The majority of the billon coinage of the *caesares* follows the [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR formula. Some of the western billon coins have the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the *caesar*, but most do not. This makes for great variation in legends with combinations of abbreviations of their names and *nobilissimus caesar*. Billon coins from the eastern mints only ever have the obverse inscriptions FL(avius) VAL(erius) CONSTANTIVS NOB C and GAL(erius) VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C. These are known from all seven eastern mints, but only two of the

²⁵⁶ See appendix 1.1, section 10.2 and 11.2 for the *RIC* numbers of Constantius and Galerius' titles from 294-306.

²⁵⁷ See n. 259 below.

eight western mints. On coins where both *caesares* appear, or one of the *caesares* appears with one of the *augusti*, their titles follow exactly the same patterns.²⁵⁸

The silver coinage most often has just *caesar*. Only Trier, Siscia, Serdica, and Thessalonica, the latter two only in small quantities, minted silver coins with [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR. Variations in the abbreviation of *nobilissimus caesar* on silver coins only came from Trier. Siscia minted silver coins with [Constantius/Galerius] CAESAR as well. All the other mints only struck silver coins with [Constantius/Galerius] CAESAR.

The gold coinage presents a more mixed combination of *caesar* and *nobilissimus caesar* legends than the silver types. [Constantius/Galerius] CAES/CAESAR type gold types were issued from multiple mints. [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR types are more common, and had more variation in abbreviations and names, particularly those from Trier.

Few other titles were given to the *caesares* on their coinage during the first tetrarchy. *Dominus noster* appears, on the coinage of any emperor for the first time, in 294 at Rome on gold coins of Galerius and silver coins of Constantius. It is in the dative for both.²⁵⁹ There were also billon coins with the *caesares'* *signa* on the reverse minted at Trier. Both follow the same formula: VIRTVS HERCVLI CAESARIS, for Constantius, and VIRTVS IOVI CAESARIS, for Galerius.²⁶⁰ On their reverses, *consul* appears on four gold types.²⁶¹ CONSVL V P P PROCOS appears on just

²⁵⁸ On gold coins with an obverse of Diocletian:

MAXIMIANVS AVG ET CONSTANTIVS C: Trier (no. 2); CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES Ticinum (no. 2).

On a billon coin with both Constantius and Galerius on the obverse:

CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS NB C: Trier (no. 373).

²⁵⁹ D N CONSTANTIO NOB C: on silver - Rome (nos 13, 25); D N MAXIMIANO CAES: on gold - Rome (no. 4).

²⁶⁰ VIRTVS HERCVLI CAESARIS: Trier (no. 86); VIRTVS IOVI CAESARIS: Trier (no. 90).

²⁶¹ Obverse of Constantius: TEMPORVM FELICITAS, with XIII COSS V in exegue: Trier (no.35); obverse of Galerius: SIC X/SIC XX/ COS IIII: Trier (no.82); CONSVL CAESS: Thessalonica (nos 1a, 1b), on type for each *caesar*.

one, a gold coin type of Constantius from Siscia.²⁶² Constantius was *consul* for the fifth time in 305.²⁶³ Galerius was also *consul* for the fifth time that year, but no corresponding coin is known. *Tribunicia potestate* does not appear on any known type, despite it being one of their official titles. *Princeps iuventutis* appears on billon types from Rome and gold types from Siscia. There are some reverses relating to military victories. *Victoria sarmatica* only appears on silver coinage but is very common. A gold medallion from Trier with Constantius on the obverse has the reverse legend REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE in connection with his reconquest of Britain.²⁶⁴ Lastly, there are PACATORES GENTIVM gold types for both *caesares* from Trier, as there are for both *augusti*.²⁶⁵

What the distinction was between *nobilissimus caesar* and *caesar* is unclear, but there was clearly an empire-wide directive to use *nobilissimus caesar* on the billon coinage and just *caesar* on the silver coinage. The majority of the coins minted would have been billon, and most citizens of the empire would have predominantly used billon coinage in their daily lives. This means that the coins with *nobilissimus caesar* were more visible. Diocletian's new silver coinage had strikingly little variation between types and mints for all four emperors. This implies that it was more controlled by the imperial office. Given its frequency across so many mints, it must have been a deliberate choice to produce the silver coinage for the *caesares* with just CAESAR in the obverse legend and VICTORIA [*Sarmatica*]. *Princeps iuventutis* is a title that had always been used by the designated successors to the senior emperor, so it is no surprise that it was used by the tetrarchs for their *caesares*. Although there are only two known types with *dominus noster*, and they do not fit into the wider trend for the titles of the *caesares* on the coinage, they are notable for

²⁶² CONSVL V P P PROCOS: Siscia (no.20).

²⁶³ Barnes 1982: 91-94.

²⁶⁴ REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE Trier (no. 34). Also known as the Arras medallion.

²⁶⁵ PACATORES GENTIVM: Trier (nos.67-8).

being the first appearance of that title on the coinage of any emperor. During the decade before Diocletian's reign, it had been used consistently in inscriptions.²⁶⁶ Its appearance here indicates that it had started to become an official title of the emperors. Its use for referring to the *caesares* was perhaps only an experiment, as these coins were struck near the start of the tetrarchy in 294, and it would later be used by the tetrarchs in a different manner.

Analysis: titles on the coinage of the first tetrarchy, 294-305

There was evidently an empire-wide effort to give the emperors different titles depending on the metal of the coinage. The billon coinage after the reform of 294 largely follows the same trends that it did before, with the exception that IMP became more frequent than IMP C at most western mints. The mint at Trier minted by far the most coin types in this period, and the most frequent formulae on its billon coinage did not contain *caesar* for the *augusti*. At all mints, West and East, P F AVG was by far the most common set of titles after the emperors' *cognomina*. This follows the trend established by Carus and his sons which had been developing before them. In the West, the tetrarchs oversaw a decrease in the use of *caesar* which had been, up to 293, nearly universal regardless of the presence of a successor designated as *caesar*. The mints in the East all struck coins with essentially only one legend - IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG, with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*. Although not consistent with the mints in the West, it does demonstrate that the imperial office in the East was maintaining a consistent directive to these mints for over ten years.

There was a decrease in titles and their variation on the coinage as a whole. In the West there were very few coins with the emperors' *praenomina* and *nomina* at all, while in the East their

²⁶⁶ *Dominus noster* appeared in inscriptions dedicated to the emperor from at least the time of Septimius Severus, examples include *CIL* III: 75, 5943.

names appear on most types, but almost always with the same abbreviations. This differs from previous emperors, where different combinations of their given names appear, as well as different abbreviations. Individual mints were not changing the names given to the emperors, which presented a more consistent image than any of the emperors between Aurelian and Numerian. Moreover, *invictus*, *deus et dominus*, and other titles used by those emperors did not appear.

There were also no titles on the reverses of billon coinage, which had been common before. This points to an effort to create a more streamlined set of titles for the emperor. The reverse titles that did appear appeared only on gold and silver coinage. VICTORIA [*Sarmatica*] types are exclusive to silver coins and were very common, so their ability to secure this specific victory was an important message that tetrarchs wanted to highlight. All other titles only appear on gold coins, most of which are CONSVL P P PROCOS types. The lack of reverse titles created a more standardized image for the emperors. The *augusti* are IMPERATOR/IMPERATOR CAESAR [Diocletianus/Maximianus] PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS, and the *caesares* are [Constantius/Maximianus] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR, regardless of the man in the position. The variations in how the emperors were presented to the people decreased, and their image was more tightly controlled. The levels to the tetrarchic system were communicated by creating distinct and consistent titles for the senior and junior emperors. This existence of this system is further reinforced by its presence in the titles used during the second tetrarchy.

4. Titles on the Coinage of Second Tetrarchy

Augusti of the second tetrarchy, 305-306

The second tetrarchy only lasted fourteen months, but the titles found in its small sample are consistent with those of the first tetrarchy. The titles of Constantius and Galerius on their coinage as *augusti* during the second tetrarchy demonstrate the continuation of tetrarchic ideology. The titles of both *augusti* follow the same trends as those of Diocletian and Maximian.

On the billon coinage, all the eastern mints, with the exception of Alexandria, continued to only mint coins with the formula IMP C [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG with each emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*.²⁶⁷ At western mints, IMP [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG became more clearly the most common type. Only at Ticinum was IMP C [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG more common, as had been the case for Diocletian and Maximian. Other formulae appear on the billon coinage from the West, as they did for the first tetrarchs. The formula IMP MAXIMIANVS P F IN(victus) AVG appeared in London for Galerius.²⁶⁸ Why only Galerius would have been granted the epithet *invictus*, and why in London, the mint furthest away from him, is unclear. Perhaps these are coins of Maximian after his return from retirement in 307 that have been misattributed. The mint at London is responsible for many other variations in the abbreviations of the emperors' names and titles.

There are very few silver coins known for either emperor. Those that are known are predominantly [Constantius/Galerius] AVG. On the gold coinage, [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG is the most common. Other formulae appear in small quantities on the gold coinage, with

²⁶⁷ See appendix 1.1, section 10.3 and 11.3 for the *RIC* numbers of Constantius and Galerius from 305-06.

²⁶⁸ IMP MAXIMIANVS P F IN AVG: London (nos 50, 83). The date for these coins is unclear; they may date to 307. Potentially IN is for I(u)N(ior) to distinguish Galerius from Maximian, although its position after P F makes this unlikely. See n. 310 below.

[Constantius/Galerius] AVGVSTVS continuing to appear only on gold coins. Their titles on both gold and silver obverse legends are consistent with those used during the first tetrarchy.

Furthermore, very few titles appear on their reverses, and those that do are on gold coins only, which is consistent with first tetrarchy. VICTORIA [*Sarmatica*], having been very common on the silver coins of the first tetrarchy, is absent, but very few silver coins were struck. The titles that do appear came mostly from the East. The only coin type with a reverse title from the West is one type of Galerius from Siscia with CONSVL V P P PROCOS.²⁶⁹ This formula also appears at Antioch, where it was struck for both *augusti*.²⁷⁰ Both *augusti* were *consul* for the fifth time in 305, and the sixth time in 306.²⁷¹ The only other reverse titles that appear are CONSVL AVGG NN types, for both *augusti* from Serdica.²⁷² These follow the same trends that were established by Diocletian and Maximian and further reinforce the titles that outline the ideology of the tetrarchs.

Caesares of the second tetrarchy, 305-306

The titles on the coins of Severus and Maximinus as *caesares* in the period before the death of Constantius match those of Constantius and Galerius during the first tetrarchy. The silver coinage had collapsed again by this time, so only gold and billon coinage types are known in any significant quantity. Severus, on all known coin types, only ever has the title *nobilissimus caesar*, which continued to have many abbreviations in the West, while his *praenomen* and *nomen* appear on all billon types from the East.²⁷³ The same patterns are true for Maximinus.²⁷⁴ Severus and

²⁶⁹ CONSVL V P P PROCOS: Siscia (no. 149).

²⁷⁰ CONSVL V P P PROCOS: Antioch (no. 65a, 65b); CONSVL VI P P PROCOS: Antioch (no. 66).

²⁷¹ Barnes 1982: 91-94.

²⁷² CONSVL AVGG NN: Serdica (nos 5a, 5b).

²⁷³ See appendix 1.1 section 12.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Severus' titles in 305-06.

²⁷⁴ See appendix 1.1 section 13.1 for the *RIC* numbers of Maximinus' titles in 305-06.

Maximinus appear alongside each other on two billon types struck at London. On both types the two emperors are referred to as *nobilissimi caesares*.²⁷⁵

The only title to appear on a reverse of Severus is PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS - on billon from Rome, and gold from Serdica. This also appears on the coins of Maximinus, but from different mints: billon coins from Trier and gold coins from Siscia and Serdica. One other set of titles appears on a reverse of Maximinus – P M TR P P P PRCOS on a gold type from Siscia.²⁷⁶ *Pontifex maximus* and *tribunica potestate* do not appear on any coin of the first tetrarchy. That being said, *tribunica potestas* was given to the *caesares* in the Edict of Maximum Prices, so these coins do not indicate any significant shift.

Diocletian and Maximian as seniores augusti

Diocletian and Maximian retired in 305 to become *seniores augusti*. Coins continued to be minted in their names at all active mints in 305-06. The minting of coins in the name of Diocletian at western mints largely stopped with the death of Constantius in 306. Moreover, in the ensuing power struggle, Maximian returned from retirement in Italy and was proclaimed *augustus* for a second time. As a result, many western mints stopped minting coins of him as *senior augustus* and started minting coins for him as an active *augustus* again. Some eastern mints continued to mint coins of both Diocletian and Maximian as *seniores augusti* up to their respective deaths in 311 and 310.²⁷⁷ These coins are predominantly billon, but some gold coins were minted in their names in the East. There are no silver coins. Their legends are almost always in the dative, and their titles are distinct from the *augusti* and *caesares*, creating a three-tiered system of emperors.

²⁷⁵ SEVERVS ET MAXIMINVS NB C (London no. 74); SEVERVS ET MAXIMINVS NO C (London no. 75).

²⁷⁶ PM TR P P P PRCOS (Siscia no. 150).

²⁷⁷ Barnes 1982: 32-34; Barnes 2010: 318-22.

As was the case when they were *augusti*, there is very little variation between the billon coinage of Diocletian and Maximian. D(omino) N(ostri) DIOCLETIANO/MAXIMIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN(iori) AVG(usto) and D N DIOCLETIANO/MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG are by far the most common and appear for both emperors from most mints.²⁷⁸ The other formulae, which are very similar, were issued only by western mints. As was the case with the *augusti* and *caesares* there is little variation between eastern mints and some variation at western mints. Their *praenomina* and *nomina* never appear on these coins.

The gold coins of these emperors only come from the East, and most of them are of Diocletian. Most of these legends follow the same formula as the billon.²⁷⁹ Only one type does not follow this formula, DIOCLETIANVS BAE(atissimus) AVG. Notably this is the only coin without *dominus noster* or *senior augustus* and is the only one in the nominative. *Senior augustus* appears in the nominative on coins of the active-again *augustus* Maximian at western and eastern mints, so it was not that title that requires the use of the dative. Additionally, the *dominus noster* types for Constantius and Galerius from 294 were in the dative. In the decade before Diocletian's reign the dative was used for titles that first appeared on the obverse of imperial coinage for both Aurelian and Probus: Aurelian's DEO ET DOMINO types, and its subsequent use by Probus and Carus, as well as Probus' BONO and PERPETVO types were all in the dative. The dative was used for new obverse titles. Perhaps this was to give the appearance that these titles, which are distinct from the traditional titles of the Roman emperors in that they indicate a more general authority, were being given to the emperor in dedication.

²⁷⁸ See appendix 1.1, section 8.4 and 9.4 for the *RIC* numbers of Diocletian's and Maximian's titles from this period.

²⁷⁹ D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG: Alexandria (no. 50); D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG: Antioch (no. 69); DN DIOCLETIANO F S AVG: Serdica (no. 10a); DN MAXIMIANO B S AVG: Serdica (no. 10b)

Diocletian's coinage did not change much after July 306, and all known coins from that period are billon. On coins from Lyons struck in his name, *dominorum nostrorum* is used on the reverse to refer to all the emperors in the empire, including the retired Diocletian.²⁸⁰ In the East his coins continued unchanged at Cyzicus until 308, and Antioch until 310. At Alexandria they were minted until 312, sometimes with no title after the superlative. Maximian's coinage matches that of Diocletian at Ticinum, Cyzicus, and Alexandria, despite his return from retirement. There were also some coins minted at Alexandria and Antioch with the titles of an active *augustus* for Maximian after 305.²⁸¹ The Antioch type matches the titles used for him at that mint before 305, while the Alexandria type is a new formula that reflects his unusual position - IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F SEN AVG.

In the West, where Maximian held power after his return, multiple mints struck coins for him with the titles of an active *augustus*. The billon legends differ slightly from his coinage before his initial retirement: IMP C [Maximianus] P F AVG is the most common formula.²⁸² Other formulae appear far less often on billon coins than before, and almost all come from Trier. There were few silver types minted, and MAXIMIANVS P F AVG is the most common on gold. There are not enough known coin types to make a definitive statement that Maximian moved away from the titles of the tetrarchic legends. That being said, his silver types are less standardized, and his billon types usually contain *imperator caesar* instead of just *imperator*, which had been more common for him from these mints before 305.

²⁸⁰ SECVRIT(as) PERPET(ua) DD(omini) NN(ostri): Lyons (nos 258, 260).

²⁸¹ IMP C MAVR VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: Antioch (no. 112c); IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F SEN AVG: Alexandria (no. 102).

²⁸² See appendix 1.1 section 9.4 for the *R/C* numbers of Maximian's titles from this period

Analysis: titles on the coinage of the second tetrarchy

The titles on the coinage of the second tetrarchy are consistent with those of the first tetrarchy, indicating continuity in image and ideology. For the *augusti*, in the West, IMP [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG remained the most common formula, becoming more common at all mints except Ticinum. In the East, IMP C [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG, with their *praenomina* and *nomina* remained ubiquitous. [Constantius/Galerius] AVG remained the most common on silver coins, but the sample size is small. On the gold coinage, [Constantius/Galerius] P F AVG remained the most common. [Severus/Maximinus] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR remained the most common formula on both billon and gold coins of the *caesares*. Aside from the two types with *invictus* struck in the name of Galerius, which may have reintroduced that title to the coinage of an *augustus* for the first time since Carus more than twenty years prior, the title formulae that appear for the emperors of the second tetrarchy follow the same trends as those of the first tetrarchy. There was continuity from the first tetrarchy to the second in how the emperors were presented.

Moreover, very few titles appear on the reverses of their coinage, which is consistent with the first tetrarchy. No titles appear on the reverses of any billon coins of the *augusti*; PRINCIPI IVVENTI is the only title to appear on the reverses of billon coins of the *caesares*. The remaining titles on reverses appear on gold coins, and they are consistent with those of the first tetrarchy. There was continuity from the first tetrarchy to the second in how the emperors were presented.

The titles on coinage struck in the name of the *seniores augusti*, Diocletian and Maximian, are different than those of the *augusti* or *caesares*. These are the first emperors for which D N is used consistently, and it appears at all mints in the empire. The same consistency between mints is present for the *seniores augusti* as it is for the other emperors, despite the fact that this was a new

position. The formula D N DIOCLETIANO/MAXIMIANO BEATISSIMO/FELICISSIMO SEN AVG is distinct from those of the active emperors, and its titles indicate the elevated position of these emperors, with power founded in *auctoritas* and respect rather than the standard titles of the emperors. This created a three-tiered college of emperors on the coinage.

5. Titles on the Coinage from the Death of Constantius (306) to the Defeat of Licinius (324)

Eastern Emperors

Mints controlled by Galerius, 306-11 (Siscia up to 308, Serdica up to 308, Thessalonica from 308, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus)

The proclamation of Constantine and Maxentius as *augusti* in the West in opposition to Severus in 306 challenged the ideology of the tetrarchs. This is reflected in the titles on the coinage of these emperors. In the East, Galerius continued as *augustus* until his death in 311. The titles on the coinage at mints he controlled remains the same as those of the previous tetrarchs struck at those mints. Coins of his wife, Diocletian's daughter, Galeria Valeria started to appear at these mints in 308, marking a break from the ideology of the tetrarchs.

On the billon coinage, the most common formula for the *augusti* recognized by Galerius is IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantine] P F AVG with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*.²⁸³ For Galerius, Severus, and Licinius few other formulae appear on the billon coinage. The formula IMP C [Maximinus/Constantine] P F INV AVG, with their *praenomen* and *nomen*, appears at Heraclea in 310. Presumably these were to celebrate the acceptance of those two *caesares* as *augusti*, but why *invictus*, which the tetrarchs never used, was given to them is unclear. No silver coins were minted. On the gold coinage, the most common formula is

²⁸³ See appendix 1.1, section 11.4 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Galerius, 306-11.

[Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus] AVG/AVGVSTVS. Some other formulae appear infrequently.²⁸⁴ Titles on the reverses are rare, and only two types are known.²⁸⁵

Maximinus and Constantine were recognized as *caesares* by Galerius until 310. Most of their coins have titles consistent with the tetrarchs: [Maximinus/Constantine] NOB CAES with their *praenomen* and *nomen*, on billon coins and [Maximinus/Constantine] NOB CAES on gold coins. After the conference of Carnuntum, some coins were minted with the new title *filius augustorum*, and some billon and gold coins with this title were struck at Thessalonica and Nicomedia. This epithet is unique to these two emperors and was made up to address their discontent with being *caesares*. It was an attempt to hold the tetrarchic system together but used dynastic language and differed from the titles of the tetrarchs in doing so. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS is the only title to appear on reverses. It only appears on gold coins.

The most significant break in tetrarchic ideology coming from the mints controlled by Galerius was the minting of coins for his wife, Galeria Valeria. No coins with a woman, with *augusta* or any other title, had been minted during the first tetrarchy or the dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian. This is despite the importance of women to the tetrarchy and the fact that marriages were used to secure the allegiances of their co-emperors. Galeria Valeria was the daughter of Diocletian, but she did not appear on coins in 293 when her marriage to Galerius allowed him to be named *caesar*.²⁸⁶ Starting in 308 after the Conference of Carnuntum she began to appear on coins at all eastern mints. She is always GAL(eria)/GALER(ia) VALERIA AVG(usta),

²⁸⁴ Including GAL MAXIMIANVS AVG VII CONSS (Serdica nos 27-28), *consules* had not appeared on the coins of the tetrarchs

²⁸⁵ CONSVL AVGG NN: Serdica (no. 16); CONSVL DD NN: Thessalonica (no. 28).

²⁸⁶ They may have married as early as 289. See chapter 1, section 2 above.

regardless of the metal type.²⁸⁷ No titles appear on her reverses. In the decade before the reign of Diocletian, both Aurelian and Carinus had coins minted for their wives, Ulpia Severina and Magnia Urbica respectively. Moreover, other *augusti* who named a *caesar* in the third century frequently minted coins of the women involved, either the wife or mother of the *caesar*. Diocletian and Maximian had clearly made an effort to not have women on their coinage before or during the first tetrarchy. The appearance of Galeria Valeria therefore marks a significant shift away from the ideology of the first tetrarchy. Critically, it was done by an *augustus* who had been elevated via the tetrarchic system and was otherwise a supporter of that system.

Mints controlled by Maximinus as caesar, 306-10 (Antioch, Alexandria)

Maximinus remained *caesar* until 310, and coins from mints he controlled followed the same formulae as his predecessors. On the billon coinage, the *augusti* were almost always given IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius] P F AVG, always with their *praenomen* and *nomen* at Antioch, but sometimes without at Alexandria.²⁸⁸ No silver coins were struck. On the gold coinage they were most often [Galerius/Severus/Licinius] AVG/AVGVSTVS. The only reverse title formula to appear is CONSVL P P PROCOS on gold coins from Antioch, which had been produced there for the *augusti* of the first tetrarchy as well. *Filius augustorum* only appears on coins of Constantine. It does not appear on coins of Maximinus, who kept the title *caesar*, demonstrating a fracture between Galerius and Maximinus.

²⁸⁷ GAL/GALER VALERIA AVG: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 29), and Nicomedia (nos 47, 53); on billon – Thessalonica (nos 33-36), Heraclea (nos 39, 43, 50, 56, 63), and Cyzicus (nos 38, 46, 58, 71).

²⁸⁸ See appendix 1.1 section 13.2 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Maximinus, 306-10.

Mints controlled by Maximinus as augustus, 310-13 (Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria)

Maximinus was declared *augustus* by his troops in 310 and accepted as legitimate by Galerius that year. He did not recognize any *caesares*. The titles on the billon coinage follow the same formula as they did at eastern mints during the first tetrarchy.²⁸⁹ No silver coins were minted. There is a change in the gold coinage: [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantine] P F AVG becomes the most common formula. On the reverses, CONSVL P P PROCOS continued to be minted at Antioch for all recognized *augusti* and appeared at Nicomedia for Maximinus after he seized that city.

The reverse legend IOVIO PROPAGAT(ori) ORBIS TERRARVM appears on billon coins of Maximinus minted at Antioch in 310.²⁹⁰ *Iovius* was the *signum* used by the eastern tetrarchs, and it rarely appears on their coinage, and only before 305. It does not appear to have been a major focus of the message of the tetrarchs on their coinage. *Propagator orbis terrarum* is not known from the coinage of the tetrarchs, but similar titles appear in an inscription from the military camp at Palmyra - *reparatores orbis sui et propagatores generis humani*, and in the Edict of Maximum Prices - *parentes generis humani*.²⁹¹ Maximinus was leaning into his identity as a tetrarchic *augustus* and the legitimacy of the *Iovii*, Diocletian and Galerius, to support his elevation to *augustus* before the death of Galerius.

²⁸⁹ See appendix 1.1 section 13.3 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Maximinus, 310-13.

²⁹⁰ IOVIO PROPAGAT ORBIS TERRARVM: Antioch (no. 134).

²⁹¹ *CIL* III: 6661; *CIL* III: EDICT, p.824, Lauffer 1971: 92. Amongst others, see appendix 1.2. Both examples are from the East of the empire, as are the coins. See chapter 2.2 and appendix 1.2.

Mints controlled by Licinius 308-11 (Siscia)

Upon his appointment as Western *augustus* in November 308, Licinius took control of the mint at Siscia. Coins from Siscia at this time are consistent with those minted there during the first tetrarchy. IMP [Galerius/Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG is the only formula to appear on the billon coins of the *augusti*.²⁹² No silver coins were minted. IMP [Licinius] P F AVG is the most common formula on gold coins; there are no titles on reverses. Coins of the *caesares* have either *nobilissimus caesar* or *filius augustorum*. Coins of Galeria Valeria with the same formula as at the mints of Galerius were minted, indicating their cooperation - Siscia continued to use the formulae it had used during the first tetrarchy, but also accepted the changes of the conference of Carnuntum, which had elevated its *augustus*.

Mints controlled by Licinius 311-13 (Siscia, Thessalonica, Heraclea)

Upon the death of Galerius in 311, Licinius came to control all the mints in the Balkans. There were no significant changes to the titles used at these mints, and the ideology of the tetrarchy continued. The mint in Siscia continued to mint billon coins with IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantine] P F AVG; the mints at Thessalonica and Heraclea continued to mint them with IMP C [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantine] P F AVG, with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*.²⁹³ The billon coins with *invictus* continued for Maximinus and Constantine at Heraclea.²⁹⁴ No silver coins were minted. On the gold coins, [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantine] P F AVG became the most common. The only title on a reverse is IOVI CONSERVATORI DD NN. It had appeared in this context at these mints previously.²⁹⁵

²⁹² See appendix 1.1 section 14.1 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Licinius, 308-11.

²⁹³ See appendix 1.1 section 14.2 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Licinius, 311-13.

²⁹⁴ These first appeared under Galerius in 310. See chapter 2.1 section 4 above.

²⁹⁵ See n. 285 above.

Mints controlled by Licinius 313-17 (Siscia, Serdica up to 314, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria)

After his victory over Maximinus in 313, Licinius came to control every mint in and east of Siscia, while Constantine controlled all those to the west of Siscia. This situation continued until 316-17. In this period, the titles used at the mints controlled by Licinius continued the earlier tetrarchic formulae. On the billon coinage, IMP C [Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG with their *praenomen* and *nomen* was by far the most common, or the only, formula at all mints except Siscia.²⁹⁶ Siscia continued with IMP [Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG. No silver coins were minted. [Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG and [Licinius/Constantine] AVG/AVGVSTVS are both common on the gold coinage. CONSVL P P PROCONSVL on gold coins from Antioch continued and were the only titles to appear on reverses. No coins of any wives or female relatives of Licinius or Constantine, despite Licinius' marriage to Constantine's sister, Constantia, were minted.

Mints controlled by Licinius 317-24 (Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria)

After his first war with Constantine in 316-17, Licinius lost control of all the Balkan mints except Heraclea. Coins continued to be struck in the name of Constantine at these mints. Initially the billon coinage used a different formula than the tetrarchs': between 317 and 320, IMP [Licinius/Constantine] AVG was the most common formula at all these mints.²⁹⁷ From 321 to 324, IMP C [Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG with their *praenomen* and *nomen* became the only formula on these coins again. The reason for these shifts is unclear. Perhaps the initial change, the dropping of *caesar*, was a reaction to the elevation of Constantine and Licinius's sons to *caesares*, which Constantine forced at the end of the war of 316. The return to the formula of the tetrarchs is a

²⁹⁶ See appendix 1.1 section 14.3 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Licinius, 313-17.

²⁹⁷ See appendix 1.1 section 14.4 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Licinius, 317-24.

signal of the ever-increasing tensions that led to war in 324. No silver coins were minted. [Licinius/Constantine] P F AVG was most common on gold coins throughout this period.

Some coins were minted with titles and formula that were never used by the tetrarchs, but they continue the legacy of the tetrarchs. In 320-21, with tensions growing, billon coins were struck with the obverse legend DD(omini) NN(ostri) IOVII LICINII INVICT(i) AVG(ustus) ET CAES(ar), as well as DD NN CONSTANTINVS ET LICINIVS AVGG.²⁹⁸ *Dominus noster* had not previously appeared on the obverse of coins in the east. The epithet *Iovii*, applied to both Licinius and his son, is the plural of *Iovius*, the *signum* of Diocletian and the eastern tetrarchs. It never featured prominently on the coins of the tetrarchs, as seen above. Licinius appears to have used it here to establish his legitimacy by tying himself to the emperors of the tetrarchy. There is no known equivalent of Constantine and his sons as *Herculii*, so Licinius was reaffirming the earlier tradition in opposition to the new ideology of Constantine. On gold coins, DD NN LICINIVS P F AVG ET LICINIVS CAESAR and LICINIVS AVG OB D(iem) V (*quinquennialium*) FILII SVI both differ from anything the tetrarchs minted.²⁹⁹ Licinius' *domini nostri* types indicate the growing popularity of that title after the tetrarchy. The celebration of his son's fifth year as *caesar* differs from any of the *vota* that the tetrarchs minted. These indicate shifts from the ideology of the tetrarchs.

On reverses, CONSVL P P PROCONSVL gold types from Antioch continued to be struck for Licinius and Constantine. The only reverse title to appear on billon types is *domini nostri*.

²⁹⁸ DD NN IOVII LICINII INVICT AVG ET CAES: Heraclea (no. 50), Nicomedia (no. 38), and Cyzicus (no. 13). DD NN CONSTANTINVS ET LICINIVS AVGG: Nicomedia (no. 39).

²⁹⁹ DD NN LICINIVS P F AVG ET LICINIVS CAESAR: Nicomedia (no. 37); LICINIVS AVG OB D C FILII SVI: Nicomedia (no. 41), and Antioch (nos 31-32). The meaning of OB D V is debated. OB(lationem) D(evotam) V, and OB D(ecennialia) V(ota) are also possibilities. The exact meaning is not important; nothing similar ever appeared on the coins of the tetrarchs.

These coins are notable for their emphasis on Jupiter before the titles of the emperor: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximino) ET FORT(i), or VICT(ori), CONSER DD NN AVG ET CAES. These are the same coin types that used *Iovius* on the obverse. In the same way as their obverses, these reverses differ from anything the tetrarchs minted, but also lean into their association with Jupiter for legitimacy. They indicate the growing tensions between Licinius and Constantine, which were increasingly taking a religious aspect.

Western Emperors

Mints controlled by Severus as augustus, 306-07 (Lyons, Trier, Ticinum, Aquileia, Siscia)

The tetrarchic system elevated Severus to *augustus* in the west, and the titles on his coinage mirrored those of the tetrarchic *augusti* who preceded him. The sample size of his known coin types as *augustus* is small. The mints at Trier and Siscia continued to mint coins with IMP [Severus/Galerius] P F AVG; those at Ticinum and Aquileia continued with IMP C [Severus/Galerius] P F AVG.³⁰⁰ Other formulae appear on a few coin types from Trier and Lyons. No silver coins were minted. SEVERVS P F AVG is the most common formula on gold coins. No titles appear on their reverses. All billon coins of the *caesares* have [Maximinus/Constantine] NOB CAES; most gold coins as well. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS is the only title on their reverses, appearing on both billon and gold coins.

Mints controlled by Maxentius 306-12 (Ticinum up to 310, Aquileia up to 310, Rome, Ostia from 308, Carthage up to 307)

Maxentius revolted at Rome in 307, and came to control the mints at Ticinum, Aquileia, and Carthage following the defeat of Severus in the spring of 307. He would later open a mint at

³⁰⁰ See appendix 1.1 section 12.2 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Severus, 306-07.

Ostia. He minted coins in his own name with a range of titles and title formulae that the tetrarchs never used. These titles clearly put the ideology of his rule in opposition to that of the tetrarchs. The coins he minted for Maximian have already been discussed. He also minted billon, silver, and gold coins for Constantine as *caesar*. The only title to appear on the obverses of these coins is *nobilissimus caesar*.³⁰¹ Very few coins were minted for Constantine as *augustus* at these mints, most often they have CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. The only titles to appear on the reverses of these coins are related to Maxentius' rhetoric as the saviour of Rome, and apparently of Carthage as well.

The titles on the coins of Maxentius offer a contrast to those of the Tetrarchy. Most of his coinage does not differ greatly from the tetrarchs, and he used very similar title formulae to his rivals.³⁰² Three title formulae make up the majority of his coinage; IMP C MAXENTIVS P F AVG is the most common on billon coins, which differs from the coins of the tetrarchs from these same mints. Additionally, very few billon types with his *praenomen* and *nomen*, M(arcus) A(urelius) VAL(erius), are known.³⁰³ These names would have linked him more closely to the tetrarchs, and in particular to Diocletian, which was where the name Valerius came from. The mint at Ticinum, which had previously minted only billon coins with *imperator caesar* for the tetrarchs, now predominantly minted billon coins with just *imperator*. The gold and silver types are mostly MAXENTIVS P F AVG.

³⁰¹ See appendix 1.1 section 15.1 for *RIC* numbers of titles at the mints controlled by Maxentius, 307-12.

³⁰² No known obverse legends end in *pius augustus*, which was used more infrequently by the tetrarchs than their predecessors. Conversely, no obverse legends end in just *augustus* either, which was used prominently by the tetrarchs on gold and silver coins.

³⁰³ *Praenomina* and *nomina* were not common at the Italian mints for the tetrarchs. See IMP C [Maxentius] P F AVG from Rome (nos 167, 172-73). Others came from a mint he did not control, Lyons (nos 256, 274).

Maxentius minted gold, silver, and billon coinage that feature titles not used by the tetrarchs. The title *princeps* features prominently on his early coinage, a reflection of his uncertain position and attempts to win over the traditional elite in Rome. MAXENTIVS PRINC(eps) INVICT(us) is the most common, featuring on many gold coin types, as well as silver and billon coins. The odd D(ominus) N(oster) MAXENTIVS PRINC(eps) also appears on gold. This is the first time that *dominus noster* appears in the nominative on any coin of any emperor. Additionally, *princeps* appears on the reverses of some gold coins in PRINCIPI IMPERII ROMANI. The use of the traditional and symbolic *princeps* illustrates Maxentius' reliance on the Roman senatorial elite in opposition to the tetrarchs, whose power was based in the loyalty of the military. As a result of this, the ideology surrounding his rule, or usurpation, is in opposition to that of the tetrarchs.

This reliance on the city of Rome, its elites and its traditional seats of power, can be seen in other titles as well. *Consul* features more prominently in the obverse legends of his coins than those of the tetrarchs. Similarly, references to his consulship appear on gold coins in reverse legends not used by the tetrarchs.³⁰⁴ Lastly, the epithet *conservator urbis suae* appears frequently and with various abbreviations on his reverses. It is very common on billon coins. *Conservator* was never used by the tetrarchs to refer to themselves instead of Jupiter, regardless of their image of military power and their defence of the empire.³⁰⁵

Maxentius further emphasized his military 'prowess' in ways that differed from the tetrarchs. *Invictus*, in the nominative, features on many of his obverses. It had not appeared on the

³⁰⁴ FELIX PROCESS CONSVLAT AVG N: on gold - Rome (nos 167-69, 179).

FEL PROCESS CONS III AVG N: on billon - Rome (nos 214-17, 264).

³⁰⁵ Jupiter is commonly referred to as *conservatori augustorum* on the reverses of the gold coins of the first tetrarchy. See appendix 2.

coins of any tetrarch before these coins were struck.³⁰⁶ The only other title to appear on a reverse of Maxentius' coins is VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AVG N.³⁰⁷ In conjunction with the *conservator* and *invictus* types, these titles indicate that Maxentius was deliberate depicting himself as a capable military leader in ways that the tetrarchs were not. Although the tetrarchs were all career soldiers, and their image is one of military stability and power, they did not emphasise this in their titles. Maxentius had no military career and served as the tetrarchs' connection to the Senate before declaring himself emperor. In the absence of tangible experience, he attempted to emphasise his martial ability, contrasting with the ideology of the tetrarchs. In comparison to the image of Maxentius, the image of the tetrarchs is much more secure in its projection of military capability and ability to secure the empire. This same contrast can be seen when comparing the titles of the tetrarchs to those of Aurelian and Probus, further emphasising that the tetrarchs deliberately avoided a singularly militaristic image. Maxentius' use of *princeps* and *consul* in contrast to their absence on coins of the tetrarchs highlighted their avoidance of a very traditional image as well.

Mints controlled by Constantine as caesar 306-07 (London, Trier, Lyons)

Coins from mints controlled by Constantine as *caesar* followed the same formulae as the tetrarchs.³⁰⁸ All coins with him or Maximinus only have *nobilissimus caesar*, and there are variations in its abbreviation. There are few coins of Severus and Galerius from these mints at this time, but IMP [Galerius/Severus] P F AVG is the most common. Constantine sought legitimacy from the tetrarchs at this time in his career, so it is not surprising that he did not alter their coinage.

³⁰⁶ With the possible exception of the those with IMP MAXIMIANVS P F IN AVG from London, see n.268. *Invictus* had last appeared in the obverse legend of any coin in 281 for Carus, see n. 203.

³⁰⁷ VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AVG N: billon (Ostia no. 55), and gold (Ostia no. 6).

³⁰⁸ See appendix 1.1 section 16.1 for the *RIC* numbers of titles at mints controlled by Constantine, 306-07.

Mints controlled by Constantine as augustus 307-12 (London, Trier, Lyons up to 310)

Invested as *augustus* by Maximian in September of 307, Constantine chose to be in opposition to Galerius and Maximinus. Very few coins were struck for Galerius. At Lyons, they appear with the legend IMP MAXIMIANVS IVN(ior) AVGVSTVS.³⁰⁹ The addition of *iunior* is not otherwise found on coins of Galerius.³¹⁰ It was added to differentiate between the two active *augusti* named Maximian, but presumably the difference in their *praenomina* would have sufficed. These are a visible example of the conflict between Galerius and the emperors in the West. Some titles appear on reverses from Lyons, including PRINCIPI IVVENTVTI on the coins with *iunior* on the obverse. Maximinus was the only recognized *caesar*; the obverses of his coins do not differ from those of the earlier *caesares*. PRINCIPI IVVENTIS is the most common title on his reverses; at Lyons, some billon coins were struck with PRINCIPI IVVENT B(ono) R(ei) P(ublicae) NAT(o) and SECVRIT PERPET DD NN. *Dominus noster* is being used here in place of *augusti* or *caesares*, perhaps as a catch-all term for all the emperors of the empire. Although minor, this indicates a change in ideology as well. The title *bono rei publicae natus* had not been used by the tetrarchs previously, or on the coin of any past *caesar*, indicating another shift. It would later be common in inscriptions dedicated to Constantine in Gaul.³¹¹

Coins minted in the name of Constantine are constant throughout the period, while those of Licinius and Maximinus as *augusti* started to be minted in 310.³¹² For all of these emperors there is a clear distinction in the title formulae on billon and gold coins: IMP

³⁰⁹ See appendix 1.1 section 16.2 for the *RIC* numbers of titles at mints controlled by Constantine, 307-12.

³¹⁰ See IMP MAXIMIANVS P F IN AVG (see n.268 above). Also see IMP CONSTANTINVS PI IN AVG (London no. 120).

³¹¹ See chapter 2.2 and appendix 1.2 section 16.1 and 16.2

³¹² Only one known coin type minted in the name of Maxentius is known to have come from these mints. It is billon: IMP MAXENTIVS P F AVG: Trier (772c).

[Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] P F AVG on billon and [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] P F AVG on gold. Few silver coins were minted.³¹³ Few coins were minted with other formulae for Licinius and Maximinus. More formulae appear on the coins of Constantine, but the formulae mentioned are very clearly the most common. There are no coins with IMP C for any of these emperors from any of these mints in this period. *Invictus* appears on some coins of Constantine from London. There were also silver coins in the name of his new wife, Fausta, minted shortly after their wedding in September 307. They have the title *nobilissima femina*.³¹⁴

Reverse titles appear exclusively on the coins of Constantine. By far the most common, and appearing on billon and gold coins, is PRINCIPI IVVENTVTI, particularly from London and Trier. The *augusti* of the tetrarchy never used this title.³¹⁵ This was a deliberate choice by Constantine to break from tradition and use a title previously reserved for the heir to the *augustus* despite his elevation. Constantine deliberately sought to appear youthful. Six other reverse titles were used at Lyons: notably PRINCIPI IVVENT B R P NAT, CONSTANTIO P(io) AVG(usto) B R P NAT, and VIRT(us) PERP(etua) CONSTANTINI AVG(usti).³¹⁶ Legends with *virtus* and *perpetuus* together, and *bono rei publicae natus* are different from anything the tetrarchs used.³¹⁷ Constantine started to break from the ideology of the tetrarchy early in his reign, but not quickly. These reverses are symptomatic of the decline in the tetrarchic system.

³¹³ Most of them have IMP [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] AVG.

³¹⁴ FAVSTAE NOBILISSIMAE FEMINAE: Trier (no. 756).

³¹⁵ Although it appeared on one or two coin types of Florian, Probus, and Carus, it was never common on the coins of any previous *augusti*.

³¹⁶ The three other types have only *domini nostri*.

³¹⁷ *Virtus* had been used by previous emperors, including Diocletian and Maximian before 293, and *perpetuus* was used by Probus.

Mints controlled by Constantine as augustus 312-13 (London, Trier, Ticinum, Aquileia, Rome, Ostia)

Constantine defeated Maxentius in October of 312 and came to control the four mints of Italy in addition to those in Gaul and Britain. The titles on his coinage increasingly broke from the ideology of tetrarchs, particularly in reference to his victory over Maxentius. In the year before the death of Maximinus, coins were struck for three *augusti*. The obverses of Maximinus and Licinius match those from mints controlled by Constantine from 310 to 312.³¹⁸ More formulae started to appear for Constantine. IMP [Constantine] P F AVG remained the most common on billon coins, but other formulae appeared particularly at Ticinum and Aquileia. IMP C appears on some billon coins from Rome and Ostia as well. [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] P F AVG remained the most common formula on gold coins, but others appear for Constantine, some with INVICTVS.

Titles on reverses proliferated, particularly on coins of Constantine. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS continued to appear, now on coins of all three *augusti*. PONT MAX TRIB P P P PROCOS, a combination of titles the tetrarchs never used on coins, appears on one gold type from Trier for Constantine. Other reverses were specific to his victory over Maxentius. S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI appears for all three *augusti*, on billon and gold for Constantine and just billon for the others. This formula differs significantly from any titles used by the tetrarchs. It is a deliberately old-fashioned epithet and a reference to Trajan.³¹⁹ VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG appears on gold coins of all three. RESTITVTOR ROMAE appears on billon coins for Maximinus only.³²⁰ Also on coins of Constantine were LIBERATORI VRBIS SVAE and RESTITVTOR

³¹⁸ See appendix 1.1 section 16.3 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Constantine, 312-13.

³¹⁹ Betjes, Heijnen 2018: 14-18.

³²⁰ RESTITVTOR ROMAE: Ostia (no. 82). Similar titles were used by Constantine, but why this one was applied to Maximinus only, who was not directly involved in the defeat of Maxentius, is unclear.

VRBIS SVAE, on billon, and VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM, on gold. All of these titles indicate a break from the ideology of the tetrarchs. The tetrarchs did not use the title *princeps* at all; *princeps iuventutis* was reserved for the *caesares*; they did not mint coins to celebrate their victories over usurpers; their names did not appear on their reverses; they never used *dominus noster* on their reverses; they never used *bono rei publicae natus*, *pontifex maximus*, or *tribunicia potestate*; and they never claimed to be *conservatores*, *liberatores*, or *restitutores* of anything on their coinage. Moreover, the sheer number of reverse titles used by Constantine in itself indicates a break from the tetrarchy. The tetrarchs used very few reverse titles, only four or five each, which contributed to the standardized image they projected.³²¹

Mints controlled by Constantine as augustus 313-17 (London, Trier, Lyons, Arles, Ticinum, Rome).

Constantine continued to control the mints in the West of the empire until 317, during which time he also minted coins of Licinius. Their billon coins mostly follow the same formula as those of the tetrarchs from these mints, IMP [Constantine/Licinius] P F AVG.³²² Few other formulae appear for Licinius; more appear for Constantine, particularly CONSTANTINVS AVG. Only one silver type is known.³²³ Gold coins continued to predominantly have [Constantine/Licinius] P F AVG. Only one other formula appears on coins of Licinius; more formulae appear for Constantine, and more titles and epithets. *Maximus* was given to him by the Senate after his victory over Maxentius and started to appear on some coins, mostly gold, at this time. Those from Lyons are billon and also have *consul*.³²⁴

³²¹ See chapter 2.1 sections 2 and 3 above.

³²² See appendix 1.1 section 16.4 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Constantine, 313-17.

³²³ IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG: Ticinum (no. 36).

³²⁴ CONSTANTINVS MAX P F AVG COS IIII: Lyons (no. 37); CONSTANTINVS MAX P AVG COS IIII: Lyons (no. 25); CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG COS IIII: Lyons (no. 24).

There is a further proliferation of titles on the reverses of coins from these mints. Only three formulae appear for Licinius, all with the title *princeps*, all in 313, and all of them also appear for Constantine in larger quantities. They are S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI and SAPIENTIA PRINCIPIS, on billon, and PRINCIPIS PROVIDENTISSIMI, on gold. Sixteen formulae appear for Constantine, mostly on gold coins. Most are related to his victory over Maxentius, including RESTITVTORI LIBERTATIS, RECVPERATORI VRB SVAE, and RECTOR TOTIVS ORBIS. Others refer to his victories more generally. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS continued to appear on his billon coins. The rest are formulae of more traditional titles such as P M TRIB P COS IIII P P PROCOS and LIBERALITAS XI IMP IIII COS P P P. After the deaths of Maxentius in 312 and Maximinus in 313, Constantine quickly distanced himself from the ideology of the tetrarchs and sought to legitimize his power through other means. This includes coopting the image of Maxentius by painting himself as the liberator of Rome, still the symbolic centre of the empire, and using more traditional titles. This contributed to an image more akin to Augustus or Trajan than to a soldier emperor typical of the third century.

Mints controlled by Constantine as augustus 317-24 (London, Lyons, Arles, Trier, Ticinum, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia, Sirmium from 320, Thessalonica)

After their first war in 316-17, coins continued to be struck in the name of Licinius at mints controlled by Constantine. Their title formulae differ. There is only one silver and two gold types of Licinius.³²⁵ His billon coins are made up mostly of IMP LICINIVS AVG. This formula was not common for the tetrarchs. More importantly, the tetrarchs struck the same formulae for all recognized *augusti*, which Licinius continued to do in the East at this time. Some titles appear on

³²⁵ See appendix 1.1 section 16.5 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles at mints controlled by Constantine, 317-24.

the reverses of these billon coins, mostly on *vota* types. On these *vota* coins, the formula D(omini) N(ostri) LIC LICINI/LICINI AVG(usti)/AVGVSTI is common. Some other formulae appear with *invictus* or *maximus*, both of which must be errors.³²⁶ The only other title to appear is VICTORIAE LAET(ae) P(rincipis)/PRINC(ipis) P(erpetui)/PERP(etui). This is seemingly a celebration of Constantine's victory over Licinius, but it appears on coins of Licinius from five mints and can therefore not be considered an error.

The coins of Constantine from his mints at this time continue to differentiate him from the tetrarchs. On the billon coins, the most common formula is CONSTANTINVS AVG. This had not been a common formula on the billon coins of any of the emperors discussed. Other formulae continued to appear. The use of *maximus* on billon coins spread to more mints, most often in the formula IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. London struck some with *invictus*, as it had previously, and Rome minted coins with a bust of Constantine but no legend.³²⁷ The few silver coins struck had a mixture of formulae. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG continued to be the most common on gold coins. Other formulae appear, including the novel D N CONSTANTINVS MAX/MAXIMVS AVG at the newly acquired mints of Siscia and Sirmium.³²⁸ These are the first coins of any *augustus* to use D N and AVG in the same legend.

The reverses continued to include many titles. The above-mentioned VICTORIAE LAET PRINC PERP is the most common. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS appears on only two coin types, instead being given to his sons. SARMATICA DEVICTA, although not a title, is equivalent to the VICTORIA SARMATICA coins of the first tetrarchy, now twenty years prior. There are also

³²⁶ *Maximus* was given to Constantine alone, and Licinius had just lost a war in 317 and could hardly be called *invictus*. Barnes 1981: 44-61; Harries 2012: 109-13

³²⁷ IMP CONSTANTINVS IN AVG: London (no. 155); No legend: Rome (no. 77).

³²⁸ D N CONSTANTINVS MAX/MAXIMVS AVG: Siscia (no. 27), and Sirmium (no. 28).

celebrations of his victories, including the epithet DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM. Some gold coins continued with *consul* and the other traditional titles. Last, his *vota* types, of which there are many, usually have the formula D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG on the reverse. There are fourteen different title formulae that appear on the reverses of these coins.

Finally, other imperial figures, living and dead, had coins struck in their name at these mints. His wife, Fausta, and mother, Helena, had billon and gold coins minted. In 318-19 they have the formula [Fausta/Helena] N(obilissima) F(emina).³²⁹ In 324-25 they are both [Fausta/Helena] AVG/AVGVSTA. In 318, billon coins with the deified Constantius, Maximian, and Claudius Gothicus were minted. It was common for emperors to deify their dynastic imperial predecessors and mint coins in their name, so the coins of his father, Constantius, and Maximian, his father-in-law, are not out of the ordinary. The minting of coins of Claudius Gothicus, who reigned from 268-70, indicates a major departure from anything related to the tetrarchy on the part of Constantine.

Constantine was seeking legitimacy outside of any emperors related to the tetrarchy to establish that his reign was something new. Starting in 318, he created the image of a dynastic family with himself at the centre, with roots stemming from an emperor who ruled more than a decade before Diocletian. Constantine created the image of traditional dynastic family, which is at odds with the ideology of the tetrarchy and highlights the fact that the tetrarchs attempted to create a dynasty in a different image. Undoubtedly Diocletian sought to establish a dynastic family, but no mother, wives, or supposed imperial ancestors appear on their coins, indicating that he sought to do so in a different image.

³²⁹ See appendix 1.1 section 16.6 for the *RIC* numbers of the titles of female and deceased members of Constantine's family at mints he controlled, 317-24.

Analysis: The Image of the First Tetrarchy from the Titles on Their Coinage

The ideology of the tetrarchy can be seen in the titles that appear on its coinage. The tetrarchy saw a more standardized set of titles than the dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian or the emperors in the decade before them. The titles for both the *augusti* and *caesares* built on the patterns and precedents set by the emperors between Aurelian and Numerian, and the tetrarchs defined themselves in the titles that were common for those emperors. They reduced the variations in the formulae of obverse legends and greatly reduced the number of titles on the reverses of their coins across the empire. They used the coinage reform of 294 to create different images on billon, silver, and gold coinage. Moreover, after 294 the coinage is more consistent between mints, which is most visible on the silver and gold coinage. The billon coinage reflects an empire divided in half, with the mints in the East being very consistent amongst themselves, while the mints in the West produced coins with more variation, albeit still with an overarching pattern. In combination with the coinage of the retired Diocletian and Maximian, the standardized title formulae on the billon coinage created a three-tiered system: 1. *nobilissimus caesar*, 2. *imperator (imperator caesar in the East) pius felix augustus*, and 3. *dominus noster baeatissimus/felicissimus senior augustus*.

This is further complemented by the titles that appear on their reverses: *princeps iuventutis* for the *caesares*, *consul*, *pater patriae*, and *proconsul* for the *augusti*, and *victoria sarmatica* for all four emperors. *Dominus noster*, a title that implied more authority, was used in obverse legends in the dative to refer to the retired *seniores augusti*, had been used in inscriptions previously but was being slowly introduced by the tetrarchs for figures whose authority was not that of *augustus* or *caesar*. They chose this title in favour of the more amplified *deus et dominus* that had been used occasionally on the coinage of Aurelian, Probus, and Carus.

The silver coinage, newly reformed in 294, used very few titles and the vast majority of the obverse legends contain only *caesar* or *augustus* where appropriate. It had very few reverse types at all, and the reverse legend VICTORIA [*Sarmatica*] was very common. The image created on the silver coin reflected the two-tiered system at the time and focused on their martial capability. The gold coinage reflected the three-tiered system with the *seniores augusti* as *domini nostri*, but with the conspicuous absence of *imperator* and *imperator caesar* for the *augusti* in most gold coin legends. Gold coins provide the majority of their reverse titles, all of which focus on an image of tradition, with titles such as *consul*, *pater patriae*, and *proconsul*, or military celebration, such as those with *pacatores gentium*.

Their *signa*, *Iovius* and *Herculius*, did not feature prominently and are only known from a few types. Those that are known feature them mostly in reverse legends. These *signa* were not a major feature of tetrarchic ideology in regard to the titles on their coinage. Their connections to Jupiter and Hercules do feature prominently on the reverses of their gold coins.³³⁰ Additionally, as noted already, they introduced the title *dominus noster* as an official title of the emperors. This title reflected the more authoritative image the emperors of the tetrarchy took in comparison to previous emperors.

No female figures related to the tetrarchs feature on their coins, so the titles of their female relatives cannot be discussed here. Their absence is conspicuous. Aurelian's wife, Ulpia Severina, and Carinus wife, Magnia Urbica, both featured on imperial coinage in the decade before Diocletian's reign began, both with the title *augusta*. Imperial women had appeared frequently on the coins of previous emperors and especially on the coins of emperors who sought to create

³³⁰ See appendix 2 for the reverses of the post reform coinage of the first tetrarchy.

imperial dynasties, such as the Severans, Decius, and Valerian and Gallienus. Evidently Diocletian did not seek to create an imperial dynasty in this image, instead opting for an image soldierly unity for himself and his imperial colleagues.³³¹ That being said, Diocletian and his co-emperors do not frequently feature together. Only six types are known to depict either multiple tetrarchs on the obverse, or one on the obverse and one on the reverse. Instead, the image they present is one of six emperors without individual personality: all have the titles pertinent to their position, and only those titles, in the three-tiered hierarchy, but their individuality is ignored.

After the death of Constantius in July 306, the emperors in the East, Galerius, Maximinus, and Licinius, largely continued to use the same titles as the first tetrarchy. The same title formulae that are ubiquitous for the first tetrarchs from these mints were used on the billon and gold coinage up to the defeat of Licinius in 324. Very few titles appear on their reverses, and the most common are CONSVL P P PROCOS, as it is for Diocletian and Maximian. The occasional use of the *signum Iovius* by Maximinus and Licinius indicate their attempts to appeal to the recognized authority of Diocletian for legitimacy.

Galerius' introduction of the title *filius augustorum* for Maximinus and Constantine, as well as minting coins in the name of his wife, Galeria Valeria, with the title *augusta*, in 308 are indicative of his attempts to keep the tetrarchic system alive. In doing so he moved away from the image and ideology of the first tetrarchy. The coins of Galeria Valeria demonstrate his familial connection to Diocletian and the legitimacy of his authority. *Filius augustorum*, which was not accepted by Maximinus or Constantine, demonstrates his attempt to placate those men while

³³¹ Unity and harmony among the soldiers was a central focus of Roman military messaging. See Veg. *Mil.* 1.3, 2.21.

maintaining his senior position. What Galerius achieved in these attempts was an image strikingly different than that created by Diocletian, one that is more akin to previous imperial dynasties.

In the West, Maxentius used different title formulae than the tetrarchs in his attempts to appear more like a traditional Roman emperor. His power was based in the support of the Senate and People of the city Rome, so he presented the image of an invincible first citizen, their saviour. Constantine initially followed the same patterns as the tetrarchs but quickly adopted PRINCIPI IVVENTVTI on his coinage as *augustus* to appear more youthful. After his defeat of Maxentius, titles on his reverses would proliferate as he adopted Maxentius' traditional image and the use of the title *princeps*. More titles, and more grandiose titles, began to appear on his reverses up to his defeat of Licinius in 324. By that time, he had begun minting coins in the names of his wife, Fausta, and mother, Helena, as *augustae*, deified Constantius, his father, deified Maximian, his grandfather, deified Claudius Gothicus, his purported ancestor, and his sons, as *caesares*. This created the image of a traditional dynastic imperial family, in stark contrast to the strictly masculine, self replacing, three-tiered system of the first and second tetrarchies.

Chapter 2.2: Epigraphic Titles of the First Tetrarchy

1. Titles in Inscriptions from Aurelian to Numerian

Aurelian

The titles and title formulae used to refer to the emperors in the epigraphic record differ from those used on the imperial coinage. More titles appear in inscriptions, and unofficial epithets are far more common than on the coinage. Many inscriptions were made by provincial officials and were not put up by the imperial government, meaning that there are more variations and more mistakes. Often the context for particular inscriptions is lost.

The titles used on Aurelian's coinage are also found in his inscriptions. His full set of titles is IMP(erator) C(aesar) L(ucius) D(omitius) AVRELIANVS P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) GERM(anicus) MAX(imus) GOTHICVS MAX TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) III CO(n)S(ul) II PROC(onsul) P(ater) P(atriae).³³² There are 113 inscriptions which name Aurelian in *CIL*.³³³ His official titles appear in the following percentages: IMP C (65%), P F AVG (28%), P M (42%), victory titles (27%), TRIB POT (38%), COS (35%), PROCOS (25%), and P P (37%).³³⁴ Before his names, just *imperator* appears in 19% of inscriptions, and no titles appear in 7% of inscriptions. A major difference from his coinage is the presence of *dominus noster* before his names in 16% of inscriptions. This title never appears on his coinage and would not appear on the coinage of any emperor until 294. Aurelian is not the first emperor for whom this title appears in inscriptions, but it is more common for him than any of his predecessors or near contemporaries.³³⁵ After his names, *pius felix invictus augustus* (41%) is more common than *pius felix augustus*, but

³³² *CIL* VIII: 10017. Also see *CIL* III: 7586, and 4319.

³³³ Excluding those where he is named *divus*, those that have his name erased and may be another emperor, and those that have his name, but the titles have been lost. See the preface to appendix 1.2

³³⁴ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for the frequencies of Aurelian's titles in comparison to his near contemporaries.

³³⁵ It first appears for Hadrian, 150 years prior - *CIL* III: 6998.

it does not typically appear in conjunction with his full set of titles. *Invictus* does appear on his coinage but only on some rare coin types from Serdica. His full set of official titles and victory titles is far more common in inscriptions than they are on coins; *proconsul* does not appear on his coinage at all.

Princeps appears in 6% of inscriptions, as it does on some rare coin types. Superlative adjectives describing the emperor appear in 17% of inscriptions, and never on his coinage. *Fortissimus* and *indulgentissimus* are the most common superlatives.³³⁶ Other epithets, notably *restitutor orbis* and *perpetuus augustus*, appear in 42% of inscriptions, significantly more than his near contemporaries.³³⁷ The epithet *super omnes principes* followed by a superlative appears once in a civic context, as SANCTISSIMVS ET SVPER OMNES PRINCIPES VICTORIOSISSIMVS.³³⁸ This formula elevates Aurelian in comparison to previous emperors in plain terms. It would continue to appear for his successors.³³⁹ *Deus* appears in four inscriptions spread out across the empire; *deus et dominus* does not appear, but DOMINVS AVRELIANVS DEVS does.³⁴⁰ The context for three of these inscriptions is lost; the other is in a military context in Africa. *Perpetuus augustus* is the most common of these other epithets, appearing in 16% of all inscriptions; *perpetuus augustus* never appears on his coinage.

Ulpia Severina, the wife of Aurelian, is named in six inscriptions spread out across the empire.³⁴¹ She is given the title *augusta* in five of these, as she is always named on her coinage. In the another she is simply *pia*. Other titles appear as well: *domina sanctissima*, *mater castrorum et*

³³⁶ See appendix 1.2 section 1.1 *Gallia Cisalpina 1; Rome 1; Africa 5-7; Gallia Narbonensis 1*.

³³⁷ See appendix 1.2 section 1.1 for a list of Aurelian's other epithets in inscriptions.

³³⁸ See appendix 1.2 section 1.1 *Italy 3*.

³³⁹ It first appeared for the Severans, examples include *CIL VIII: 6944, 7972*.

³⁴⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 1.1 *Hispania 1-2; Africa 1; and Italy 1*.

³⁴¹ See appendix 1.2 section 1.2 for a list of Severina's epithets in inscriptions.

senatus et patriae, and *piissima*. She is called *coniunx domini nostri* in all six. The image from this sample size of titles is in line with the image of Aurelian, having traditional titles, such as *mater castrorum et senatus et patriae*, which both date to the second century, as well as superlatives and *domina*.³⁴²

Aurelian's titles in the epigraphic record are similar to those of his coinage. The extended official titles of the emperor appear more often than they do on the coinage. Unofficial titles and epithets are common, particularly adjectives, such as *perpetuus*, as well as *dominus noster*. These titles in combination with superlatives and *restitutor orbis*, as well as overt grandiose titles such as *deus* and *super retro principes*, create an elevated image for Aurelian. This contrasts with the frequent use of the titles of traditional offices, such as *consul*. The titles given to Aurelian in inscriptions present the image of an emperor who is both a supremely powerful military commander and highest civic magistrate. The rare coin types with DEO ET DOMINO are the only coins with similar titles. The imperial administration was presenting different, less extreme, messages on the coinage than was being employed by the people of the empire in inscriptions.

Tacitus and Florian

There are far fewer inscriptions that name Tacitus or Florian, only thirty-four and eight respectively, since they both ruled only briefly. They largely follow the same patterns as those of Aurelian. Their official titles appear with the following frequencies: IMP C (85% and 100%), P F AVG (44% and 25%), P M (59% and 75%), victory titles (3% and 0%), TRIB POT (47% and 75%), COS (32% and 25%), PROCOS (26% and 63%), and P P (32% and 50%).³⁴³ The titles on

³⁴² *Mater castrorum* was first given to Faustina the younger, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, in 174. Hemelrijk 2010: 457-63; Chen 2018: 61-62.

³⁴³ See appendix 1.3 table 1 for the frequencies of their titles and comparison with their near contemporaries. The frequencies for Florian's titles are skewed by a sample size of only eight inscriptions, five of which are erroneous since he is given *consul* and/or *proconsul*, despite never holding that office.

their coinage also follow the pattern of Aurelian's titles on his coinage. The major exception is that *dominus noster* does not appear in any inscriptions for Tacitus; DOMINVS ORBIS ET PACIS appears on one civic inscription for Florian.³⁴⁴ Moreover, the phrase MILIARIA ORBIS SVI RESTITVIT, which appears on one milestone for Aurelian from Africa, appears alongside the titles of Tacitus on another milestone from Africa.³⁴⁵ These epithets indicate continuity in the image and perception of the emperor in the year after Aurelian's death.³⁴⁶

Probus

There are only forty extant inscriptions of Probus despite his six-year reign. They differ from those of Aurelian. His full set of official titles is VERVS GOTHICVS VERVSQVE GERMANICVS IMP C M AVR PROBVS P F INVICT AVG P M TRIB P V P P COS III PROCOS.³⁴⁷ These titles appear in the following percentages: IMP C (93%), P F INV AVG (43%), PONTIFEX MAX (60%), victory titles (23%), TRIB POT (55%), COS (40%), PROCOS (38%), and P P (45%). Aside from victory titles, his official titles appear in a higher percentage of inscriptions than Aurelian's.³⁴⁸ Before his names, *imperator* on its own appears in just 3%, and *dominus noster* in just 5% of inscriptions. After his names, *pius felix augustus* appears in 28% and just *augustus* in 8% of inscriptions. Superlatives and other epithets are very rare, appearing in 3% and 5% of inscriptions respectively.³⁴⁹

The image created by these inscriptions differs from that of Aurelian's. Probus appears far more traditional, which is not entirely consistent with the image on his coinage: *consul* does appear

³⁴⁴ See appendix 1.2 section 3 *Germania 1*.

³⁴⁵ For Aurelian, see appendix 1.2 section 1.1 *Africa 2*, For Tacitus see appendix 1.2 section 2 *Africa 5*.

³⁴⁶ See appendix 1.2 sections 2 and 3 for a list of Tacitus and Florian's other epithets in inscriptions.

³⁴⁷ *CIL* II: 3738. Also see *CIL* XVII: 43 and 47.

³⁴⁸ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for the frequencies of Probus' titles in comparison to his near contemporaries.

³⁴⁹ See appendix 1.2 section 4 for a list of Probus' other epithets in inscriptions.

frequently on the obverses of his coinage, as well as appearing on reverses alongside other extended titles, but there are also other epithets - namely *bonus*, *perpetuus*, *invictus* and *deus et dominus* - on his coinage that do not appear in his inscriptions. The image created by the titles on Probus' coinage is continuous with that of Aurelian in that it straddles the image of an all-powerful military commander and a civic magistrate, presenting both traditional titles, such as *consul*, and innovating with new titles, such *deus et dominus*. This duality is not present in the image created by his inscriptions. Probus' titles in inscriptions focus on his image as the highest civic official and not his militaristic image, something out of sync with his image in other media.³⁵⁰

Carus and his sons

Carus' epigraphic titles follow the same trends as those of Probus almost exactly. There are thirty-seven examples in *CIL*. His official titles are: IMP C M AVR CARVS P F INV AVGVSTVS PONT MAX TRIB POT COS PROCOS P P.³⁵¹ These titles appear with the following frequencies: IMP C (84%), P F INV AVG (70%), P M (51%), TRIB P (54%), COS (38%), PROC (49%), and P P (41%).³⁵² Victory titles appear in only 5% of inscriptions, only one example of which also contains any of his other official titles.³⁵³ Superlatives are more common than they are for Probus, appearing in 14% of inscriptions, but are still uncommon. The most common is *clementissimus*, which had not appeared frequently for Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, or Probus.³⁵⁴ There are no inscriptions with other epithets for Carus, in contrast to the appearance of DEO ET DOMINIO and RESTITVTOR ORBIS on his coinage. Carus ruled for only ten months, and the sample size of his inscriptions is small. Like Probus, it contrasts with the image created by the titles on his coinage.

³⁵⁰ Such as the frequency of helmets, spears, and shields on the obverse portraits of his coinage. See chapter 3 below.

³⁵¹ *CIL* II: 4760. Other examples include *CIL* II: 4102, and *CIL* III: 5205.

³⁵² See appendix 1.3 table 1 for the frequencies of Carus' titles in comparison to his near contemporaries.

³⁵³ *CIL* VIII: 12522.

³⁵⁴ See appendix section 5 *Hispania* 1-2, 4.

While the coinage balances his militaristic image with his civic image, the titles in his inscriptions instead focus only on his Republican positions and old-fashioned titles.

As *caesares* Carinus and Numerian are given the same titles as each other. The sample size is small - only fifteen and seventeen inscriptions respectively.³⁵⁵ Their epigraphic titles are the same as those on their coinage: NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR, which appears in 87% and 95% of inscriptions respectively, is the only official title. Sometimes they are erroneously given *imperator* (20% and 6% respectively), as is the case on their coinage, but in inscriptions from across the empire rather than just in the East, where all their coins with *imperator* come from.³⁵⁶ *Consul* appears only for Carinus as *caesar*, which he held for the first time in 283.³⁵⁷ *Princeps iuventutis*, which appears on the coinage of both brothers, also appears in inscriptions for both (27% and 29% respectively).³⁵⁸ Very few inscriptions have superlatives other than *nobilissimus*: 7% for Carinus and 6% for Numerian.³⁵⁹ The few inscriptions with other epithets (13% and 12%) focus on their relationship with Carus: three of the four inscriptions have *filius*.³⁶⁰ The titles of the sons of Carus as *caesares* are fairly simple, focusing only on the title *nobilissimus caesar*, with the occasional use of *princeps iuventutis* to highlight their junior position. The dynastic link to their father is occasionally mentioned.

³⁵⁵ These are inscriptions which have *caesar* but do not have *augustus*.

³⁵⁶ *Imperator* appears erroneously in the following inscriptions: *CIL* II: 14184 (18); *CIL* VIII: 22441, 22599; *CIL* XI: 6956b.

See chapter 2.1 for titles on the coinage.

³⁵⁷ *CIL* II: 4103.

Carinus was *caesar* and *consul* for only a brief period of time in 283; he was elevated to *augustus* that year. See *Chron. Min.* 1.60; Barnes 1982: 92-96; Leadbetter 2004: 38-39.

³⁵⁸ For Carinus – examples include *CIL* II 4103; *CIL* VIII: 10219.

For Numerian – examples include *CIL* VIII: 5332; *CIL* IX: 2445.

³⁵⁹ See appendix 1.2 sections 6.1 and 7.1 for the other epithets and superlatives of Carinus and Numerian as *caesares*.

³⁶⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 6.1 *Africa* 1; *Gallia Narbonensis* 1; section 7.1 *Hispania* 2.

As *augusti*, the titles of Carinus and Numerian are similar but differ from their father's and his predecessors'.³⁶¹ They have thirty-seven and twenty-three inscriptions respectively. Their official titles are the same as their father's – IMP CAESAR M AVR CARINVS/NVMERIANVS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS MAXIMVS BRITTANICVS MAXIMVS PERSICVS MAXIMVS TRIB POT COS P P PROCOS.³⁶² These titles appear with the following frequencies IMP C (48% and 39%), P F INV AVG (45% and 39%), P M (26% and 17%), TRIB POT (32% and 30%), COS (23% and 17%), PROCOS (26% and 9%), and P P (26% and 22%).³⁶³ Victory titles appear in 13% for Carinus and never for Numerian. Before their names, *imperator* on its own appears in 16% and 26%, and no titles appear in 6% and 4%. *Dominus noster* is the second most common title, after *imperator caesar*, at 32% and 30%. This is double the frequency of *dominus noster* for Aurelian; but it does not appear for their father at all. This indicates that a shift occurred in 283-84 that resulted in *dominus noster* becoming more common, perhaps as a result of confusion regarding their exact position in the imperial college in relation to their father and to each other, as both were named *caesar* and became *augusti* soon afterwards. To a provincial citizen unconcerned with exact imperial terminology, *dominus noster* provided a simpler way of referring to the emperor's powers.

After their names, *pius felix invictus augustus* is still most common at 45% and 39%, but this is down from 70% for Carus. Just *augustus* is the second most common at 23% and 26%, as opposed to *pius felix augustus* for their predecessors. Superlatives (13% and 4%) and other epithets (10% and 4%) are not common.³⁶⁴ Their other epithets are notably scarce and epithets that had

³⁶¹ See appendix 1.3 table 1 for a side-by-side comparison of the frequencies of their titles.

³⁶² *CIL* XIV: 126, 127.

³⁶³ They were both *consul* in 284. See Barnes 1982: 92-96.

³⁶⁴ See appendix 1.2 sections 6.2 and 7.2 for the other epithets of Carinus and Numerian as *augusti*.

appeared for their predecessors such as *deus*, *perpetuus*, and *restitutor orbis* do not appear. Most often these epithets focus on their dynastic connections: *filius* and *frater* both appear.³⁶⁵ The extended regular titles of the emperor, *pontifex maximus*, *tribunica potestas*, *consul*, *proconsul*, and *pater patriae*, are also notably less common than they are for Carus, Probus, and Aurelian. Both elevated titles and traditional titles appear less frequently for both Carinus and Numerian as *augustus*. The image of Carinus and Numerian presented by these inscriptions is more constrained and generic than their predecessors. There is nothing particularly noteworthy about how they were addressed, other than the presence of *dominus noster*, which is not present on their coinage.

Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus, is named in four inscriptions from across the empire.³⁶⁶ She is always *augusta*. She is also named *mater castrorum*, *mater castrorum senatus ac patriae*, as well as *coniunx domini nostri*, as was the case for Ulpia Severina, and *coniunx imperatoris*.

2. Titles in Inscriptions of the Emperors of the First Tetrarchy

Diocletian and Maximian

Few inscriptions can be definitely dated to a specific period during the long and varied reigns of Diocletian and Maximian, although those that mention the *caesares* must date to 293 and after, and those with *senior* can easily be dated to after their retirement on 1 May 305. With all their other inscriptions taken together, we have large sample sizes of 281 and 278 respectively, despite facing *damnatio memoriae*.³⁶⁷ Dividing these inscriptions is possible based on consular dates, *dies imperii*, the number of times *tribunica potestas* was granted, or other contexts, such as

³⁶⁵ See appendix 1.2 section 6.2 *Africa 1-3*.

³⁶⁶ See appendix 1.2 sections 6.3 the epithets of Magnia Urbica.

³⁶⁷ The systemic destruction of their statues ordered by Constantine in 311-12, which involved the destruction of images of both Maximian and Diocletian. Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 42. 13; Barnes 1982: 32-35

who is named as their co-emperors. Doing so has its value but greatly reduces the number of inscriptions, as most cannot be categorized this way, and presents other issues.³⁶⁸

The titles of Diocletian and Maximian in inscriptions are consistent with one another but differ from those of their predecessors. Their patterns do resemble those of Carinus and Numerian as *augusti*, but a closer look demonstrates significant differences. The official titles of Diocletian in 301 were IMPERATOR CAESAR CAIVS AVRELIVS VALERIVS DIOCLETIANVS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS GERMANICVS MAXIMVS VI SARMATICVS MAXIMVS IIII PERSICVS MAXIMVS II BRITTANICVS MAXIMVS CARPICVS MAXIMVS ARMENICVS MAXIMVS MEDICVS MAXIMVS ADIABENICVS MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA PTESTATE XVIII CONSVL VII IMPERII XVIII PATER PATRIAE PROCONSVL.³⁶⁹ These titles appear with the following frequencies in inscriptions: IMP C (55% and 49%), P F INV AVG (49% and 45%), PONT MAX (16% and 11%), victory titles (8% and 5%), TRIB POT (18% and 13%), COS (15% and 11%), PROCOS (13% and 9%), and P P (13% and 10%).³⁷⁰ Before their names, *imperator* on its own is uncommon, even less than it is for Aurelian (19%), at 11% and 10%. For both emperors, 15% of inscriptions have no title before their names. *Dominus noster* is common at 29% and 30%, appearing twice as often as it had for Aurelian (16%). The pattern of the titles before their names is not the same as it is on their coinage. *Imperator* on its own is the most common title before their names on their billon coins from

³⁶⁸ For instance: inscriptions with *tribunicia potestas* are more likely to have the other extended titles of the emperor, or inscriptions may be dedicated to only the *augusti* during the period of 293-305; only considering inscriptions with *tribunicia potestas* would reduce the sample size of Diocletian's inscriptions from 281 to 51. Moreover, inscriptions that can be dated with these titles may come from specific contexts (i.e imperial), and disproportionately eliminate inscriptions from private, civic, or other unofficial contexts.

³⁶⁹ *CIL* III: EDICT p.824. Maximian has the same titles but different numbers for victory titles, *tribunicia potestate*, *consul*, and *imperii*. This inscription gives their official titles since it is an imperial edict.

³⁷⁰ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for the frequencies of Diocletian and Maximian's titles in comparison to their near contemporaries.

western mints from the period of the first tetrarchy, but it is far less common in inscriptions. It is also distributed relatively evenly, unlike the coinage – one third of inscriptions with only *imperator* come from the East, where all billon coins were minted with IMP C. No titles before their names is the most common on silver and gold coins, but this is rare in inscriptions. Moreover, *dominus noster* does not appear on their coinage until they retired on 1 May 305 but is common in their inscriptions and appears on a wide range of inscriptions that do not have *augustus senior*.

The titles after their names follow roughly the same trends as their predecessors, with *pius felix invictus augustus* being the most common (49% and 45%). Only *augustus* is the second most common formula after their names (17% and 19%). *Invictus* does not appear on their coinage at all but was commonly used by the people of the empire to refer to them in all contexts in inscriptions.³⁷¹ On the coinage, the presence of *pius felix* was largely dependent on the metal type during the first tetrarchy, where it did not appear frequently on silver and gold coins but was very common on billon coins. It appears in the majority of their inscriptions.³⁷² As was the case with their predecessors, their official titles before *augustus* appear far more frequently than those after *augustus*. Their extended titles after *augustus* appear far less frequently than they do for any of their predecessors. This is consistent with their coinage, where these titles appear far less frequently than they do for the likes of Aurelian and Probus. On the coinage of Diocletian and Maximian, these titles mostly appear on the reverses of gold coins in the formula CONSVL P P PROCOS from the mints in Siscia and Antioch, but this particular formula does not appear in inscriptions. Victory titles appear in only 8% and 5% of their inscriptions, despite VICTORIA

³⁷¹ In addition to formulae with P F INV AVG, INV AVG appears in 8% and 9% of inscriptions.

³⁷² In addition to formulae with P F INV AVG, P F AVG appears in 10% and 9% of inscriptions.

[*Sarmatica*] being the most common reverse on their silver coinage.³⁷³ This is perhaps not surprising, since the celebration of other victories and victory titles do not otherwise appear on their coinage.³⁷⁴

A defining feature of the inscriptions of Diocletian and Maximian are superlatives and other epithets. Superlatives appear in 10% and 8%, and other epithets in 22% and 18% of their inscriptions respectively. Many superlatives appear, and they are spread out across the empire. The most common are *fortissimus* and *piissimus*.³⁷⁵ These frequencies are lower than for Aurelian (15% for superlatives and 42% for epithets), but they have a more grandiose *quality* that further elevates the position of Diocletian and Maximian. Epithets such as INVICTISSIMI PRINCIPES NOSTRI TOTIVS ORBIS RESTITVTORES, PARENTES GENERIS HVMANI, INVICTISSIMI REPARATORES ORBIS SVI ET PROPAGATORES GENERIS HVMANI, DII GENITI ET DEORVM CREATORES, DOMINVS ORBIS TERRARVM TOTIVS PIETATIS AVGVSTVS, PATER AVGVSTORVM (just Diocletian), PROVIDENTISSIMVS PRINCEPS RECTOR ORBIS AC DOMINVS FVNDATOR PACIS (just Diocletian), INVICTISSIMI AC RESTITVTORES ET PROPAGATORES ORBIS SVORVM, and RESTITVTOR ORBIS PROVIDENTISSIMVS {RETRO PRINCIPVM} AC SVPER OMNES <RETRO PRINCIPES> FORTISSIMVS (just Diocletian) amongst others, are unlike anything attributed to any previous emperors.³⁷⁶

Many of these inscriptions come from the East and give the titles to both Diocletian and Maximian. They appear in a range of contexts, but most common is a military context. Other

³⁷³ VICTORIA SARMATICA is not a victory title per se but is a celebration of a specific victory like a victory title, and can thus be compared to the title *Sarmaticus*, which does appear in inscriptions.

³⁷⁴ The victory titles of the tetrarchs were tightly controlled, as evidenced by the restriction of some victory titles claimed Galerius in the 290s that were not used until after the retirement of Diocletian in 305. See Leadbetter 2009: 81-85.

³⁷⁵ See appendix 1.2 sections 8 and 9 for the superlatives and other epithets of Diocletian and Maximian.

³⁷⁶ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *The East* 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17; *Africa* 4; *Gallia Narbonensis* 2.

epithets are nearly absent for Probus and Carus, so this image was not carried over from their most immediate predecessors. Similar epithets appear for Aurelian, but they do not reference subjects such as *parentes* or *propagatores generis humani*. Aurelian's epithets surrounding the *orbis*, most often *restitutor orbis*, are surpassed in grandiose quality by epithets such as *totius orbis restitutores*, *dominus orbis terrarum totius*, and *providentissimus princeps rector orbis ac dominus fundator pacis*. *Propagator* is also extended to the Roman empire itself as PROPAGATOR IMPERII REIQVE ROMANAE and PROPAGATOR ROMANI IMPERII.³⁷⁷ *Deus* for Aurelian is outdone by *dii geniti et deorum creatores* for Diocletian and Maximian, although *deus* appears in four inscriptions for Aurelian, compared to only the one for Diocletian and Maximian.³⁷⁸

Super omnes retro, having appeared once for Aurelian but absent for his successors, appears for Diocletian and Maximian in five inscriptions as *super omnes retro principes*.³⁷⁹ All of these inscriptions name only one *augustus*. They are: FORTISSIMVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PIISMVS AVGVSTVS (Diocletian), PISSIMVS INVICTVS AVGVSTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS (Diocletian), FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS ET SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PISSIMVS (Maximian), MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS (Maximian), PISSIMVS INVICTVS AVGVSTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS (Maximian).³⁸⁰ These also exceed Aurelian's inscriptions in the scale

³⁷⁷ Both inscriptions are dedicated to Maximian alone. Both are in Rome, and their contexts are unknown. See appendix 1.2 section 9 *Rome* 8, 9.

Propagator imperii was common for Septimius Severus – examples include *CIL* III: 7540, and *CIL* VIII: 6969.

³⁷⁸ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *The East* 7. Also see *Gallia Cisalpina* 3 for a similar inscription that may contain a similar epithet.

³⁷⁹ For Aurelian, see appendix 1.2 section 1.1 *Italy* 3.

³⁸⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *The East* 12; *Africa* 11; and section 9 *The East* 1; *Rome* 7; *Africa* 5.

Also see RESTITVTOR ORBIS PROVIDENTISSIMVS {RETRO PRINCIPVM} AC SVPER OMNES <RETRO PRINCIPES> FORTISSIMVS (Diocletian) – appendix 1.2 section 8 *Gallia Narbonensis* 2.

of their praise of the emperor. The inscription for Aurelian was dedicated in a civic context in the East. Of the two inscriptions for Diocletian, one is in the East in a civic context; the other is in Africa in a military context. Of the three for Maximian, one is in the East in an imperial context; one is in Rome in an imperial context; and one is in Africa in a military context. This epithet was used by the imperial office to elevate the emperors' position in relation to their predecessors, and it was also reflected back to them by civic and military authorities.

Bono rei publicae natus, which would later become common for Constantine, is given to Diocletian and Maximian, as well as Constantius and Galerius, in one inscription in Gaul in an unknown context.³⁸¹ Their *signa* appear in six inscriptions, three of which come from the East, two from Italy, and one from Britain. Three of them are on every-day objects that were not part of a public display, all of which were found in the West. Of these three, two reference just one emperor: *Iovius Augustus* on a small gold semi-circle from Britain, and *Herculius Augustus* on a gold buckle from Italy.³⁸² Another bronze buckle from Italy references all four members of the tetrarchy.³⁸³ The other three inscriptions were part of public displays in the East. They are inscriptions from: a temple in Carnuntum, which names all four emperors; a marble column in Sirmium, referencing Diocletian and Maximian; and from an unknown context in Thessalonica, referencing all four emperors.³⁸⁴ Their *signa* do not appear to have been a common way of addressing them, which is consistent with their infrequent appearance on the coinage. That being said, their presence in inscriptions spans the whole of the empire, indicating that they were communicated widely. They appear in a mixture of private and public contexts, but this is divided between West and East: those

³⁸¹ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *Gallia Narbonensis* 1.

³⁸² See appendix 1.2 section 8 *Britain* 1; and section 9 *Italy* 1.

³⁸³ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *Italy* 3.

³⁸⁴ See appendix 1.2 section 8 *The East* 1, 4, 8.

in the West are all private, and those from the East are all public. Surprisingly, none of these inscriptions are in a military context, given the frequent use of their *signa* in the names of legions.³⁸⁵

Most inscriptions for the tetrarchs contain fewer titles than the inscriptions for their predecessors, but the titles that do appear are often less traditional and elevate the position of emperor. These titles do not appear on their coinage during the first tetrarchy. *Dominus noster*, which had already been in use by previous emperors, such as Aurelian, is common, and was used by the tetrarchs on their coinage to indicate the *auctoritas* of the retired Diocletian and Maximian – it was not used to indicate any specific legal power in the way that *consul* or *tribunicia potestas* does. The other epithets, such as those addressing them as *parentes* or *propagatores*, appear in inscriptions set up by the imperial government, the military, and other authorities. They indicate a shift in the image of the emperors which separates their position from those attainable by the common people.

Constantius I and Galerius as caesares

As *caesares*, the titles given to Constantius and Galerius in inscriptions follow each other's patterns. There are 218 and 195 examples respectively, significantly more than for Carinus and Numerian as *caesares*. In the Edict of Maximum Prices they are given the following titles: FLAVIVS VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS GERMANICVS MAXIMVS II SARMATICVS MAXIMVS II PERSICVS MAXIMVS II BRITTANICVS MAXIMVS CARPICVS MAXIMVS ARMENICVS MAXIMVS MEDICVS MAXIMVS ADIABENICVS MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE VIII CONSVL III NOBILISIMVS CAESAR.³⁸⁶ These titles appear in inscriptions

³⁸⁵ Veg. *Mil.* 1.17; Hebbelwhite 2023: 177-78.

³⁸⁶ *CIL* III: EDICT p.824. Galerius has the same titles as Constantius.

with the following frequencies: NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR (80% for both), victory titles (2% for both), TRP P (1% and 0%), and COS (4% and 3%). *Caesar* on its own appears in only 9% and 11% respectively. *Imperator* appears erroneously in 9% and 5%, with the error spread evenly across the empire.³⁸⁷ *Dominus noster* appears in 23% and 18% and is particularly common in inscriptions from Africa.³⁸⁸ This title does appear on some rare coin types from Rome struck shortly after the coinage reform in 294, the first time it appeared on the coinage of any emperor. It is significantly more common in inscriptions, which continues the pattern observed for Diocletian and Maximian. *Tribunicia potestas*, although attributed to the *caesares* in the Edict of Maximum Prices, appears in only one other inscription.³⁸⁹ It does not appear on their coinage. *Consul* is also rare in inscriptions despite being a position they both held five times between 293 and 305; it is very rare on their coinage.³⁹⁰ All victory titles won by any of the four emperors since the elevation of Constantius and Galerius in 293 are listed in the Edict of Maximum Prices. They are also rare, but do not appear on their coinage either.³⁹¹ The other extended titles of the *augusti* were not given to the *caesares* and so they do not appear in inscriptions. *Princeps iuventutis*, which is present on their coinage from both Rome and Siscia, is not common in their inscriptions, appearing in only 1% and 3% respectively.³⁹²

Their *signa* are very uncommon in inscriptions from their time as *caesares*. Aside from those that reference all the tetrarchs and have already been mentioned, there are four inscriptions which use a *signum*. For Constantius, there are two milestones from Africa that refer to him as

³⁸⁷ Examples include *CIL* III: 14186, and *CIL* VIII: 22392.

See appendix 1.3 table 2 and graph 5 for the frequencies of Constantius and Galerius' titles as *caesares* in comparison to their near contemporaries.

³⁸⁸ Examples include *CIL* VIII: nos 326, and 223.

³⁸⁹ TRP II for Constantius - *CIL* III: 26566.

³⁹⁰ Examples with *consul* include *CIL* III: 326, and *CIL* VIII: 608. See Barnes 1982: 92-96.

³⁹¹ Examples include *CIL* III: 578, and *CIL* X: 1113.

³⁹² Examples include *CIL* III: 326, and *CIL* XIV: 2075.

FLAVIVS VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS HERCVLIVS IVNIOR NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR.³⁹³

The two for Galerius are: PERPETVVS AC FLORENTISSIMVS CAESAR GALERIVS IOVIVS IVNIOR on a milestone in Africa, and PVBLICAE AMPLIFICANDAE GLORIAM PROCREATVS PI[] NOSTER IOVIVS MAXIMIANVS NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR in an imperial context from Heraclea in Thrace.³⁹⁴ The latter inscription grants Galerius lofty epithets reminiscent of Diocletian and Maximian. The split between private and public contexts between West and East that is present for the *signa* of Diocletian and Maximian is not present for Constantius and Galerius. Instead, the split is between milestones in the West (all Africa), and imperial contexts in the East.

Superlatives other than *nobilissimus* (10% and 7%) and other epithets (9% and 8%) are otherwise uncommon.³⁹⁵ They almost always lack the quality of the other epithets of Diocletian and Maximian and are typically adjectives such as *magnus*, *perpetuus*, or *florentissimus*.³⁹⁶ The titles of Constantius and Galerius as *caesares* in inscriptions are consistent with those of their coinage, with the exception of *dominus noster*. Most inscriptions only refer to them as *nobilissimus caesar*, while some refer to them as *dominus noster*, either in addition to or in place of *nobilissimus caesar*. Other titles, despite appearing in an official source like the Edict of Maximum Prices, are nearly absent. This indicates that the civic and other traditional roles of the *caesares* of the first tetrarchy were not emphasized in their titles in inscriptions. They are rarely granted the same grandiose titles of their *augusti* in inscriptions that name only the *caesares*, contributing to their image as junior emperors.

³⁹³ *CIL* VIII: 10183, and 10187.

³⁹⁴ See appendix 1.2 sections 11.1 for the other epithets of Galerius as *caesar*.

³⁹⁵ See appendix 1.2 sections 10.1 and 11.1 for the other epithets of Constantius and Galerius as *caesares*.

³⁹⁶ Examples include *CIL* VIII: 1515 and 10258. The only major exception to this is *CIL* III: 12326.

Analysis: the titles in inscriptions of the first tetrarchy

The movement towards the use of fewer titles is present in both the inscriptions and coinage of the tetrarchs, particularly regarding the full official titles of the emperors – *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestas*, *consul*, *proconsul*, and *pater patriae*. These are significantly less common for Diocletian and Maximian than they are for their predecessors in both inscriptions and on their coinage. Regarding the official titles that are common, *imperator caesar* is more common than only *imperator*, and no titles before their names is very uncommon. This pattern is distributed across the empire. The presence of these titles on the coinage is dependent on the metal type and where in the empire it was minted, so perhaps it is not surprising that the inscriptions, which were not centrally controlled, would have a different pattern. The presence of *dominus noster* before the emperor's name in inscriptions continued a precedent set by earlier emperors, such as Aurelian, but does not appear on their coinage at all. It is more common for Diocletian and Maximian than for any previous emperor, while continuing to be absent on their coinage until their retirement in 305. The titles after their names are similar to those on their coinage with the addition of *invictus* in most inscriptions. *Invictus* is purposefully not present on their coinage: it appears on the coinage of their immediate predecessors and immediate successors, and is widely used in inscriptions, including in official imperial contexts such as the Edict of Maximum Prices. The titles on their coinage are more traditional in comparison to their titles in inscriptions.

The titles of the *caesares* are essentially identical to the coinage, with the addition of *dominus noster*, which mirrors the same pattern as their *augusti*. The hierarchy of *augusti* and *caesares* is evident in the different titles given to them. Other titles are not particularly common for the tetrarchs, but those that are given to the *augusti* present an image that is more elevated and separated from the everyday people of the empire than that of their predecessors. Their power is

not emphasized through traditional Republican titles, despite holding various consulships and renewing *tribunicia potestas* every year. The titles of the tetrarchs in inscriptions create a different image than their predecessors: instead of presenting both a traditional civic and military image, the tetrarchs presented an elevated image of the emperor, particularly the *augusti*, that is greater than highest civic official or military commander. This is seen most clearly in the decline in usage of their traditional extended official titles, and they use new epithets, such as *parentes generis humani*, that have broader and more absolute implications of power. Their *signa* are rarely used, indicating that they were not a central focus of their ideology. These titles were reflected back to them by the people of the empire, indicating the acceptance and propagation of their ideology.

3. Titles in Inscriptions of the Emperors of the Second Tetrarchy

Constantius and Galerius as augusti

The titles of Constantius and Galerius as *augusti* in inscriptions demonstrate that there was confusion regarding their position and promotion. There are seventy and sixty-four inscriptions for each, respectively. Their official titles are the same as those of Diocletian and Maximian as *augusti*. An example is IMP CAES FL VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS INVICTVS PIVS FELIX AVG PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XIII IMP II CONS VI P P.³⁹⁷ These titles appear with the following frequencies: IMP C (31% and 36%), P F INV AVG (49% and 48%), P M (10% and 8%), victory titles (1% and 6%), TRIB P (11% and 8%), COS (6% and 2%), PROCOS (4% and 3%), and P P (4% and 11%).³⁹⁸ Victory titles appear in only one inscription for Constantius as *augustus*.³⁹⁹ *Caesar* or *nobilissimus caesar* without *imperator* appears frequently, 34% and 29%

³⁹⁷ For Constantius - *CIL* VIII: 5526; for Galerius – *CIL* VIII: 21923. No inscription names both emperors with their full set of official titles.

³⁹⁸ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for the frequencies of Constantius and Galerius' titles as *augusti* in comparison to their near contemporaries.

³⁹⁹ For Constantius – *CIL* VIII: 22451. For Galerius, examples include *CIL* VIII: 21449 and 21923.

respectively, in formulae that also have *augustus*.⁴⁰⁰ Among the emperors previously discussed, *caesar* appears without *imperator* in just three inscriptions for Maximian.⁴⁰¹ *Imperator caesar* appears less often for Constantius and Galerius than it does for Diocletian and Maximian.⁴⁰² Only *imperator* appears more frequently, 19%, for Constantius than it does for Galerius, 9%.⁴⁰³ Perhaps as a result of the confusion regarding the titles before their names, *dominus noster* appears in roughly half of their inscriptions, up from 30% for Diocletian and Maximian.⁴⁰⁴ Often it appears in conjunction with the other titles before the emperors' names, such as *imperator* and *imperator caesar*. The titles before the names of the *augusti* of the second tetrarchy are confused in inscriptions, containing a mixture of *imperator caesar*, *imperator* on its own, *caesar* on its own, and *dominus noster*. This is not reflected in the coinage. The coinage for Constantius and Galerius as *augusti* followed the same patterns as the *augusti* of the first tetrarchy.⁴⁰⁵

After their names, *pius felix invictus augustus* is the most common set of titles, followed by *augustus* on its own, which is the same as it is for Diocletian and Maximian.⁴⁰⁶ The extended titles of the emperors appear even less frequently than they do for Diocletian and Maximian. This is the case on their coinage as well. Superlatives and other epithets also appear less frequently than they do for Diocletian and Maximian, and they are rarely addressed with the same grandiose and lofty titles.⁴⁰⁷ Most often these other epithets are adjectives such as *aeternus*, and most examples

⁴⁰⁰ Examples include *CIL* VII: 1158, and *CIL* VIII: 23115. Its placement before and after their names is not consistent.

⁴⁰¹ *CIL* VI: 1125, *CIL* VIII: 22499, and *CIL* XIV: 4403. There is confusion regarding Maximian's titles in the epigraphic record, see Burgess 2023: 4-7.

⁴⁰² 31% and 36% compared to 55% and 49%. Examples include *CIL* VIII: 5526, and 10409.

⁴⁰³ Examples include *CIL* VIII: 22035 for Constantius, and *CIL* III: 11318. For both emperors, most inscriptions with just *imperator* come from Africa. Why there are more for Constantius is unclear.

⁴⁰⁴ Examples include *CIL* III: 3522 and *CIL* VIII: 21966.

⁴⁰⁵ See chapter 2.1.

⁴⁰⁶ Examples include *CIL* III: 14380 and *CIL* VIII: 10409.

⁴⁰⁷ Superlatives appear in 3% for each, and other epithets in 9% and 11% respectively.

See appendix 1.2 sections 10.2 and 11.2 for the other epithets of Constantius and Galerius as *augustus*.

come from Africa.⁴⁰⁸ PROVIDENTISSIMVS ET CVM ORBE SVB REDDITA LIBERTATE TRIVMFANS DOMINVS NOSTER PERPETVVS IMPERATOR GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS INVICTVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS is the only similarly grandiose inscription.⁴⁰⁹ Constantius is never referred to as *Herculius* and as *augustus* in the same inscription. There are two inscriptions which name Galerius as *Iovius*, both of which are in the East, one in a civic context, which also names Maximinus, and the other in an unknown context.⁴¹⁰ There is only one inscription which names Galeria Valeria: DOMINA NOSTRA GALERIA VALERIA SACRATISSIMA AC PISSIMA AVGVSTA MATERQVE CASTRORVM. *Domina nostra*, *piissima*, and *mater castrorum* were all given to Ulpia Severina, the wife of Aurelian, and Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus, the previous two *augustae*.

Severus and Maximinus as caesares

The *caesares* of the second tetrarchy, Severus and Maximinus, are referred to with the same titles that Constantius and Galerius had used as *caesares*.⁴¹¹ There are forty-eight and fifty-two inscriptions respectively. *Nobilissimus caesar* appears in the majority of examples, 80% and 90% respectively, while *dominus noster* also appears frequently in 47% and 44%. Few other titles appear. *Consul* does not appear; neither man was *consul* in 305 or 306. *Princeps iuventutis* appears in only one inscription for Maximinus.⁴¹² The titles of Severus and Maximinus as *caesares* in inscriptions are consistent with those of Constantius and Galerius as *caesares*. *Filius augustorum*, found on coins struck at mints controlled by Galerius after the conference of Carnuntum in 308,

⁴⁰⁸ Examples include *CIL* VIII: 22318, and 22108.

⁴⁰⁹ See appendix 1.2 section 11.2 *Africa* 2.

⁴¹⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 11.2 *East* 1, 2.

⁴¹¹ See appendix 1.3 table 2 and graph 5 for the frequencies of Severus and Maximinus' titles as *caesares* in comparison to their near contemporaries.

⁴¹² Severus was never *consul* as *caesar*; Maximinus was *consul* as *caesar* in 307. See Barnes 1982: 92-96. For *princeps iuventutis*, see *CIL* XI: 3202.

does not appear in any inscriptions for Maximinus. The titles that appear on the coinage and inscriptions of the *caesares* of the first and second tetrarchies have roughly the same patterns.⁴¹³

Diocletian and Maximian as seniores augusti

There are very few inscriptions that can be definitely dated to the retirement of Diocletian and Maximian. There are only seven and ten, respectively, which grant them the title *senior augustus*, most of which come from Africa. All but two have *dominus noster*, as do their coins from this period; four erroneously start with either *imperator caesar* or *imperator*, which their coins never do.⁴¹⁴ Most end in just *senior augustus*, but some have *pius felix* and *invictus* in various formulae. No superlatives appear in these inscriptions, whereas *beatissimus* and *felicissimus* appear very commonly on their coinage as *seniores augusti*. Their extended titles and other epithets do not appear.⁴¹⁵ In inscriptions where Diocletian and Maximian are named alongside the four emperors of the second tetrarchy, their position is inconsistent: on the Baths of Diocletian, they are listed before the *augusti* and *caesares*, but in a military diploma from January 306 they are named after the *augusti* but before the *caesares*.⁴¹⁶ The position of the *seniores augusti* in inscriptions is not consistently defined – its titles vary greatly, and the position of the *seniores augusti* in relation to the active emperors is uncertain. This is not the case on the coinage, where they almost always appear with the formula D N [Diocletianus/Maximianus] *superlative* SEN AVG.

⁴¹³ See chapter 2.1.

⁴¹⁴ Examples include *CIL* VII: 1190, and *CIL* VIII: 8836.

⁴¹⁵ *Consul* does not appear in inscriptions despite the fact that Diocletian was *consul* in 308, and Maximian held two consulships, in 307 and 308, albeit they were not recognized in the East, after coming out of retirement. See Barnes 1982: 92-96.

⁴¹⁶ See *CIL* VI, 1130 for the inscription on the Baths of Diocletian. The diploma is not in *CIL*, see Corcoran 2017: 61-62.

4. Titles in Inscriptions After the Death of Constantius (306) to the Defeat of Licinius (324)

Severus (306-07) and Maximinus (310-13) as augusti

There are very few inscriptions for Severus or Maximinus as *augusti* - just seven and thirteen respectively.⁴¹⁷ They were *caesares* together in 305-06, but they were never joint-*augusti*, so different trends in their titles may be expected. The only significant difference is that *caesar* appears without *imperator* for Severus in one inscription from Africa but this never appears for Maximinus.⁴¹⁸ *Caesar* without *imperator* in the titles of an *augusti* is only common for the former *caesares* of the first tetrarchy, Constantius and Galerius, demonstrating that the same confusion was not present within a year of Constantius' death. The extended titles of the emperors do not appear for either emperor. Superlatives appear in only one inscription for Maximinus; the only inscriptions with another epithet, the adverb *semper* alongside *augustus*, is also for Maximinus.⁴¹⁹ The epithet *propagator orbis terrarum* appears on some of Maximinus' billon coins from Antioch with the reverse legend IOVIO PROPAGAT ORBIS TERRARVM. This contrasts with Diocletian and Maximian, for whom similar epithets are common in inscriptions but absent on their coinage. The small sample sizes for Severus and Maximinus as *augusti* mean that a clear picture of their titles in inscriptions cannot be accurately compared to those of their contemporaries.

⁴¹⁷ See appendix 1.3 table 1 for the frequencies of Severus and Maximinus' titles as *augusti* in comparison to their near contemporaries.

⁴¹⁸ *CIL* VIII: 10229.

⁴¹⁹ *CIL* III: 12132 (alongside Licinius) and 5565 (alongside Constantine and Licinius). No inscriptions that name only Maximinus as *augustus* have a superlative or other epithet.

Maxentius

Inscriptions dedicated to Maxentius are only found in Italy and Africa; there are forty-three examples.⁴²⁰ Their titles follow a different pattern from those of his rival emperors and contemporaries but are not drastically different. He used the same official titles as his contemporaries: IMPERATOR CAESAR MARCVS AVRELIVS MAXENTIVS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE CONSVL PROCONSVL PATER PATRIAE, without victory titles, since he had none.⁴²¹ These titles appear with the following frequencies: IMP C (51%), P F INV AVG (58%), P M (16%), TRIB POT (16%), COS (16%), PROCOS (9%), and P P (9%).⁴²² The titles before his names follow the same pattern as Diocletian and Maximian, with the exception of *dominus noster*, which appears more frequently, in 47%, compared to 30% for Diocletian and Maximian. After his names, *pius felix augustus*, in 7%, is not common, and *augustus* on its own is significantly less common than it is for Diocletian and Maximian (17% and 19%) at just 7%, which is more in line with Aurelian (4%) and Probus (8%).

The extended official titles of the emperor appear with about the same frequency as they do for Diocletian but are geographically constrained to only southern Italy.⁴²³ Victory titles never appear as he had no victories over foreign peoples. Superlatives appear in 9%, which is in line with Diocletian and Maximian, but other epithets appear in 40%, which is much more than Diocletian and Maximian, at 22% and 18%, and about the same as Aurelian, 42%.⁴²⁴ These epithets generally lack the quality of those given to Diocletian and Maximian and are much more similar to those of

⁴²⁰ The only regions where he held power.

⁴²¹ *CIL* IX: 6066; *CIL* X: 6971, 6972.

⁴²² See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for the frequencies of Maxentius' titles in comparison to his near contemporaries.

⁴²³ Examples include *CIL* IX: 6059, and *CIL* X: 6964.

⁴²⁴ See appendix 1.2 sections 14 for the other epithets of Maxentius.

Aurelian and Probus. The most common of these is *perpetuus augustus*.⁴²⁵ Others include *semper augustus* and *aeternus augustus*.⁴²⁶ The inscription CENSVRAE VETERIS PIETATISQUE SINGVLARIS DOMINVS NOSTER MAXENTIVS is indicative of Maxentius' attempt to appear as a traditional Roman emperor, also seen in his use of *princeps* on his coinage.⁴²⁷ The titles of Maxentius in inscriptions appear in different patterns than they do for Diocletian and Maximian and are more akin to those of Aurelian and Probus. Maxentius' titles in inscriptions contribute to an image of a traditional Roman emperor who rules through his civic powers, such as *consul* or *censura*, both of which are Republican positions of power, as opposed to the elevated position of Diocletian and Maximian. This is consistent with Maxentius' power base, which was amongst the senatorial elites in the city of Rome, where he revolted.

Constantine, as caesar and as augustus, and Licinius

The titles of Constantine as *caesar* are like those of Constantius and Galerius as *caesar*. There are fifty-seven examples. Before his names, *dominus noster* appears in 53% of inscriptions. *Imperator* appears erroneously far more often than it does for Constantius and Galerius at 35%.⁴²⁸ Only two of the twenty examples with *imperator* come from the East; most are milestones from Gaul, where he held power. This indicates confusion regarding Constantine's position and corresponding titles early in his reign, or that the people of Gaul wished to give him *imperator*. After his names, *nobilissimus caesar* appears in 67% of inscriptions. Few other titles appear at all; BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS, which appears on his coinage from Lyons at this time, appears

⁴²⁵ Examples include *CIL* VIII: 6882, and 6952.

⁴²⁶ Examples include *CIL* X: 6868; *CIL* XI: 6651.

⁴²⁷ See appendix 1.2 section 14 *Rome I*.

See chapter 2.1 for the titles on his coinage.

⁴²⁸ Examples include *CIL* II: 14, 941, and *CIL* XII 173.

See appendix 1.3 table 2 and graph 5 for the frequencies of Constantine's titles as *caesares* in comparison to his near contemporaries.

in one example from Africa in a civic context and one example from Gaul on a milestone.⁴²⁹ BONO GENERIS HVMANI NATVS appears in an inscription from Spain; its context is unknown. FILIVS AVGVSTORVM, which appears on his coinage from eastern mints between 308 and 310, appears in an unknown context in one inscription in the East.⁴³⁰

The only other epithet that appears is DIVI CONSTANTI AVGVSTVS PII/PII FELICIS FILIVS, emphasizing his relationship to Constantius and his legitimate claim to power.⁴³¹ These only appear in Gaul and Germania, where he held power, and are particularly common on milestones.⁴³² The image of Constantine as *caesar* differs from that of Constantius and Galerius as *caesares* in how it emphasizes his dynastic claim to power. Constantius and Galerius were adopted by Diocletian and Maximian, but they are never referred to as the *fili* of Diocletian and Maximian. This indicates that Constantine projected a different image from that which the tetrarchs did early on in his reign, and the presence of this phrase on milestones, which were not set up by the emperors, indicates the acceptance of his dynastic ideology by the people of Gaul.

Inscriptions dedicated to Licinius, who was never *caesar*, are widespread across the empire and are not found only in the East where he held power. His titles have different patterns from those of the tetrarchs and are most like those of his co-emperor Constantine as *augustus*. The titles of Licinius and Constantine must be discussed separately since there are major differences in the other epithets for each emperor. There are only three inscriptions which list Licinius' full set of official titles. Two have IMPERATOR CAESAR before his names, the other has DOMINVS

⁴²⁹ See appendix 1.2 section 16.1 *Africa 1; Gallia Narbonensis 2*.

⁴³⁰ *Filius augustorum* was imposed on him by Galerius in 308 after the Conference of Carnuntum, which demoted Constantine to *caesar*. Constantine ignored this demotion. See appendix 1.2 section 16.1 *The East 1*.

⁴³¹ See appendix 1.2 sections 16.1 for the other epithets of Constantine as *caesar*.

⁴³² This is also where his father was based between 293-306.

NOSTER IMPERATOR; all three have different variations of *pius felix, invictus*, and *augustus*.⁴³³

An example is DOMINVS NOSTER IMPERATOR VALERIVS LICINIANVS LICINIVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS SARMATICVS MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE X CONSVL V IMPERII X PATER PATRIAE PROCONSVL.⁴³⁴ These titles appear with the following frequencies: D N (64%), IMP (15%), AVG (37%), P M (4%), victory titles (6%), TRIB POT (4%), COS (5%), PROCOS (5%), P P (4%). Before his names, *dominus noster* is the most common title, appearing in 64%, which is double that of Diocletian and Maximian (29% and 30%). Conversely, *imperator caesar* appears in just 23%, which is half that of Diocletian and Maximian (55% and 49%). *Imperator* on its own (15%) and no titles (18%) appear with about the same frequency as they do for Diocletian and Maximian.⁴³⁵ After his names, *pius felix invictus augustus* appears in only 32%, which is less frequently than any emperor previously discussed. Instead, *augustus* on its own appears more frequently than any other emperor discussed, at 37%.

The extended titles of the emperor are rare but are evenly distributed across the empire. Superlatives appear in 8% and other epithets in 27%.⁴³⁶ Most of these other epithets are simple adjectives, most commonly *perpetuus augustus* and *aeternus augustus*; rarely do they have a heighten *quality* similar to those of Diocletian and Maximian.⁴³⁷ Those that do are all in the West, where he never held power. *Super omnes retro principes* appears in one inscription in Spain in a civic context: DEVICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM BARBARARVM ET SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PROVIDENTISSIMVS.⁴³⁸ BONO OMNIVM NATVS appears in one inscription in

⁴³³ *CIL* II: 4105; *CIL* V:330; *CIL* VIII: 1357.

⁴³⁴ *CIL* VIII: 1357.

⁴³⁵ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for a side-by-side comparison of the frequencies of Licinius' titles with his near contemporaries.

Caesar on its own never appears; Licinius was never *caesar*.

⁴³⁶ See appendix 1.2 sections 15 for the other epithets of Licinius.

⁴³⁷ Examples include *CIL* III: 13734 and 14404.

⁴³⁸ See appendix 1.2 section 15 *Hispania I*.

Italy, for which the context is lost.⁴³⁹ RESTITVTOR LIBERTATIS ET FVNDATOR PVBLICAE SECVRITATIS also appears in Italy in an imperial context.⁴⁴⁰ He never used any of these epithets on his coinage, although DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM does appear on gold coins of Constantine from Trier during their co-rule. His *signum*, *Iovius*, which does appear on his coinage, appears in only one inscription in Italy: DOMINVS NOSTER IOVIVS LICINIVS INVICTVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS.⁴⁴¹ Unlike Diocletian and Maximian, his *signum* does not appear in any public inscriptions in the East.

The titles of Licinius in inscriptions are notably different than those of the tetrarchs, but in some ways they accelerate the trends set in motion by Diocletian and Maximian: *imperator caesar* became less common and *dominus noster* became more common, while the extended titles of the emperor continued to decrease in use. Further reduction in titles is visible in the decreased use of *pius felix* and *invictus*. Few unofficial epithets have a *quality* similar to those of Diocletian and Maximian. These are only found in the West, and none of them contain rhetoric surrounding the *orbis*. Neither the imperial government nor the people of the empire were giving lofty epithets to Licinius, indicating that his image had shifted from that of the tetrarchs.

There are more inscriptions dedicated to Constantine as *augustus* than any other emperor discussed at 304. This excludes any inscriptions that are definitively dated to after his defeat of Licinius in 324. His full set of official titles are not common, but they are largely the same as his predecessors: IMPERATOR CAESAR FLAVIVS CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS (which was new) PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS GERMANICVS MAXIMVS III SARMATICVS MAXIMVS BRITTANICVS MAXIMVS CARPICVS

⁴³⁹ See appendix 1.2 section 15 *Italy* 2.

⁴⁴⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 15 *Italy* 6.

⁴⁴¹ See appendix 1.2 section 15 *Italy* 4.

MAXIMVS ARABICVS MAXIMVS MEDICVS MAXIMVS ARMENICVS MAXIMVS
 GOTHICVS MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XIII IMPERII XIII CONSVL IIII PATER
 PATRIAE PROCONSVL.⁴⁴² These titles appear with the following frequencies: IMP C (29%), P
 F INV AVG (35%), P M (4%), victory titles (3%), TRIB PPT (5%), COS (5%), PROCOS (4%),
 and P P (4%).⁴⁴³ Before his names, *dominus noster* appears 59% of the time, which is significantly
 more than the tetrarchs at about 30%. *Imperator* on its own and no titles before his names appear
 occasionally but are not common.⁴⁴⁴ After his names, *pius felix invictus augustus* appears less often
 than it does for the tetrarchs, while just *augustus* appears in 31%, more often than it does for the
 tetrarchs. His extended titles rarely appear, and almost all in African inscriptions; victory titles are
 also rare and mostly appear in Africa.⁴⁴⁵ Superlatives appear in 10%, which is consistent with the
 tetrarchs. The defining feature of the titles of Constantine in inscriptions are the other epithets,
 which appear in 64%, far more than any other emperor discussed.⁴⁴⁶ They very often have a
 heightened *quality* similar to those of Diocletian and Maximian. They are evenly distributed across
 the empire. Examples include:

ROMANAE SECVRITATIS LIBERTATISQVE VINDICES [Constantinus/Licinius]
 AETERNI AVGVSTI, in an imperial context in the East;

TRIVMFATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS OB AMPLIFICATAM TOTO ORBE REM
 PVBLICAM, in an imperial context in Rome;

⁴⁴² *CIL* VIII: 8412.

⁴⁴³ See appendix 1.3 table 1 and graphs 1-4 for a side-by-side comparison of the frequencies of Constantine's titles with his near contemporaries.

⁴⁴⁴ 10% and 15% respectively.

⁴⁴⁵ Other official titles - examples include *CIL* VIII: 8412, and 23116.

Victory titles - examples include *CIL* VIII: 22246, and 22119.

⁴⁴⁶ See appendix 1.2 sections 16.2 for the other epithets of Constantine as *augustus*.

DOMINVS NOSTER RESTITVTOR HVMANI GENERIS PROPAGATOR IMPERII
 DITIONISQ[VE] ROMANAE FVNDATOR ETIAM SECVRITATIS AETERNAE
 CONSTANTINVS FELIX MAXIMVS PIVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS FILIVS DIVI CONSTANTII
 SEMPER ET VBIQVE VENERABILIS, in an imperial context in Rome;

CONDITOR ADQVE (*sic*) AMPLIFICATOR TOTIVS ORBIS ROMANI SVI AC
 SINGVLARVM QVARVMQVE CIVITATVM ADQVE (*sic*) ORNATVM LIBERALITATE
 CLEMENTIAE SVAE AVGENS [Constantinus] PIVS VICTOR PERPETVVS SEMPER
 AVGVSTVS, in a civic context in Africa;

TRIVMPHATOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AC DOMITOR VNIVERSARVM
 FACTIONVM QVI LIBERTATEM TENEBRIS SERVITVTIS OPPRESSAM SVA FELICI
 VICTORIA NOVA LVCE INLVMINAVIT, in a civic context in Africa;

INSTAVRATOR ORBIS TERRARVM PERPETVVS AC PISSIMVS IMPERATOR
 DOMINVS NOSTER [Constantinus] SEMPER VICTOR AVGVSTVS, in a civic context in Italy;

and PROPAGATOR ROMANI IMPERII FVNDATOR QVIETIS PVBLICAE
 [Constantinus] VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS DIVI CLAVDI NEPOS DIVI CONSTANTII
 FILIVS, in a civic context in Italy.⁴⁴⁷ There are many others like these.⁴⁴⁸ These inscriptions very
 clearly demonstrate an elevated image for Constantine greater than that of Diocletian and
 Maximian or Aurelian. In these examples, new epithets can be seen: *vindex*, *triumphator*, *restitutor*
generis humani, *conditor adque amplificador totius orbis Romani sui*, *domitor universarum*
factionum qui libertatem tenebris servitutis oppressam, *instaurator orbis terrarum*, and *fundator*

⁴⁴⁷ See appendix 1.2 section 16.2 *The East* 4; *Rome* 5, 8; *Africa* 8, 37; *Italy* 18, 28; *Germania* 1.

⁴⁴⁸ See appendix 1.2 section 16.2.

quietis publicae do not appear for any of the emperors previously discussed. Constantine built on the elevated image created by Diocletian and Maximian with titles such as *reparatores orbis sui et propagators generis humani* and *rector orbis ac dominus fundator pacis*. These titles were given to him officially and by the people of the empire. In contrast to Licinius, for whom there are very few such inscriptions, Constantine continued the lofty image of the emperor, and the people reflected this image back to him.

Moreover, *super omnes retro* appears in three inscriptions - all three are in civic contexts, two in the East and one in Africa.⁴⁴⁹ This epithet does not appear to have been a significant focus of his image as it appears in less inscriptions for Constantine than for Diocletian and Maximian despite his larger sample size of inscriptions. One of these inscriptions in the East also has the title *bono rei publicae natus*, which is a major focus of his image. *Bono rei publicae natus*, and similar epithets such as *bono generis humani natus*, appear on numerous inscriptions from across the empire.⁴⁵⁰ Its most common context is on milestones, particularly in Gaul. It occasionally appears in civic inscriptions across the empire. It never appears in an imperial, military, religious, or private context. Some of these milestones in Italy name both Constantine and Licinius. Its prevalence on milestones contributes to his lofty image and indicates its acceptance by the people of the empire.

Constantine's dynastic claims to power are also frequently highlighted with the filiations *filius* (of Constantius), and *nepos* (of Maximian), as well as one example with *nepos* in relation to Claudius Gothicus.⁴⁵¹ All of the inscriptions with *nepos* also have a *filius*. Constantine's family is further emphasized in inscriptions dedicated to his mother, Helena, his sister, Constantina, and his

⁴⁴⁹ See appendix 1.2 section 16.2 *The East* 6, 13; *Africa* 26.

⁴⁵⁰ See appendix 1.2 section 16.2 *The East* 19, 21; *Gallia Cisalpina* 3; *Africa* 6, 7, 22, 29, 32, 36; *Italy* 1, 3-6; *Gallia Narbonensis* 1,

⁴⁵¹ See appendix 1.2 section 16.2 *Spain* 2; *the East* 9; *Gallia Cisalpina* 1, 2; *Rome* 2, 8; *Britain* 1; *Italy* 8-11, 20-22, 28, 35; *Gallia Narbonensis* 1-4, 6; *Germania* 1, 2.

wife, Fausta.⁴⁵² Their familial connection to Constantine is often linked with the epithets *genetrix*, *procreatrix*, and *mater*, for Helena; *soror*, for Constantina; and *uxor*, for Fausta. The relationships of these women to the sons of Constantine are also mentioned in these inscriptions. Coins were minted by Constantine for the deified Constantius, Maximian, and Claudius Gothicus, as well as for Helena and Fausta. These inscriptions are therefore consistent with the dynastic image that Constantine projected on his coinage. This dynastic image differs from that of the tetrarchs, who did not mint coins in the name of their female relatives or claim a dynastic link to any predecessors.

Analysis: The Image of the First Tetrarchy from the Titles in Their Inscriptions

The titles of the tetrarchs in inscriptions create an image of power that is not grounded in the emperor's civic authority or military victories. Their immediate predecessors, Aurelian, Probus, Tacitus, Florian, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, all used traditional titles – *pontifex maximus*, *tribunicia potestas*, *consul*, *proconsul*, and *pater patriae*, more frequently than the tetrarchs. Aurelian also used a variety of other unofficial epithets, notably *deus* and *restitutor orbis*, which elevated his position beyond highest religious authority (*pontifex maximus*), judicial authority (*tribunicia potestas*), or civilian magistrate (*consul*). These epithets create an image that is striking a balance between a traditional emperor in the image of Augustus, and an emperor legitimized strictly by his military career and victories. This balance is also present on the coinage of Aurelian, Probus, and Carus. On the coins of these three emperors, the extended official titles of the emperor, notably *consul*, and innovative new elevated titles, such as *deus et dominus* and *restitutor orbis*, both appear.

⁴⁵² See appendix 1.2 section 16.3.

In contrast, the extended official titles of Diocletian and Maximian appear less often in inscriptions than they do for their immediate predecessors. This is also the case on their coinage, where these titles appear very rarely. Aside from *consul*, these titles had been exclusive to the emperors since Augustus and had lost their original contexts in the intervening three hundred years. What does appear in their inscriptions are lofty titles that far exceed those of Aurelian. Many of these contain rhetoric surrounding the *totius orbis*, others focus on the role of the emperors as *propagatores* of the human race. There is less of a balance between traditional emperor and supreme leader, and the *augusti* of the first tetrarchy are hailed with more grandiose titles than their predecessors. The traditional titles of the emperor were often replaced with divine attributes and descriptions which elevate the position of the emperor above first amongst equals. These titles appear in imperial contexts, but do not appear on their coinage. Moreover, a hierarchy of *augusti* and *caesares* is clearly present in these inscriptions. The *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, are not given the same lofty titles as the *augusti*. They are also very rarely given their civic and judicial titles, *consul* and *tribunica potestate*. Moreover, the familial link between the *caesares* and the *augusti* through their marriages to the daughters of the *augusti* is not mentioned in inscriptions. Instead, the image of the *caesares* of the first tetrarchy is only that of junior emperor to the supreme *augusti*, with only the title *nobilissimus caesar* appearing frequently. This is also the case on their coinage, where *nobilissimus caesar* appears on the bulk of their coinage, and very few other titles appear at all.⁴⁵³

Some of this image was adopted by Constantine. The elevated position of the *augustus* was continued with grandiose titles in the same vein as those of Diocletian and Maximian. They are far more common for Constantine, and more innovative lofty epithets started to appear. These,

⁴⁵³ With the exception of *caesar* on their silver coinage.

combined with a continued lack of the traditional titles of the emperor, create a stronger image of separation between the emperor and the common people than was already present for *augusti* of the first tetrarchy. In contrast to the tetrarchs, Constantine emphasized a familial link in his inscriptions: his father, grandfather, a distant emperor whom he claimed descent from, his mother, sister, wife, and sons all appear. Familial links never appear in the inscriptions of the first tetrarchy. The image of the first tetrarchy focused on the supreme power of the *augusti* and their junior emperors and successors, the *caesares*, below them as comrades in arms.

Chapter 3: Portraits of the First Tetrarchy

1. Introduction to Imperial Portraits

The image of late-third century and early-fourth century Roman emperors reflects their military backgrounds. All the emperors between Aurelian and Constantine had had military careers before becoming *augustus*.⁴⁵⁴ Although the shift to soldier emperors occurred in the late-second and third centuries, the Roman emperors had long founded their power in the loyalty of the legions.⁴⁵⁵ The loyalty of the legions was gained through victory on the field and the spoils that accompanied it, and so the need to appear militarily capable had always been paramount.⁴⁵⁶ After the reforms of Gallienus (r. 260-268), the men who became emperor had first been career soldiers and then officers in the *protectores*, where they organized the defence of the empire and gained the loyalty of the legions.⁴⁵⁷ With the loyalty of the legions came the position of emperor, and so the emperor became a career soldier, and the image of the emperor changed to reflect this – the portrait of the emperor became that of the highest ranking soldier.⁴⁵⁸

Aurelian's hair and beard are short and cropped, like a soldier's; in portraits where the shoulders are visible, he often wears a cuirass, which is sometimes draped in a military cloak; he prominently wears the radiate crown, a symbol of victory in the field, on his new denomination of billon coins; his expression is stern, focused on the defence of the empire.⁴⁵⁹ This reflects who the

⁴⁵⁴ Except Maxentius. Barnes 1981: 3-14, 28-43; Leadbetter 2009: 141-46, 177-81.

⁴⁵⁵ This became the *de facto* situation after the death of Nero and the succession of Vespasian. See Tacitus. *Hist.* 1.4; McCormack 1981: 161-65; De Blois 2018: 245-60.

⁴⁵⁶ McCormack 1981: 161-65; Smith 1997: 179-83; De Blois 2018: 245-60.

⁴⁵⁷ Williams 1985: 24-28; Leadbetter 2004: 30-35; De Blois 2018: 245-60.

⁴⁵⁸ L'Orange 1965: 105-25; Elsner 1998: 59, 71-73; De Blois 2018: 245-60.

⁴⁵⁹ The radiate crown features on all *antoniniani*, which Aurelian's new coins were meant to replace, since they were first struck under Caracalla in 215. *Dupondii*, worth two *asses*, and *antoniniani*, worth two *denarii*, both had the radiate crown as a mark of value, but such niceties were eventually forgotten. Caracalla and the Severans were not soldier emperors, but their image was rooted in the support of the soldiers, whose pay they increased. This is summed up in Septimius Severus' words to his son, Caracalla, shortly before his death: 'Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, and scorn all other men' - Dio Cass. 77.15. See Watson 1999: 196-98; Leadbetter 2009: 27-29; Manders 2012: 121-133; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Hijmans 2024: 952-55.

emperor really was, and the portraits reflect what the emperors actually looked like.⁴⁶⁰ Very few or no coins present the emperor in his other duties, such as *pontifex maximus*, or as *consul*.⁴⁶¹ To achieve this, prototype images of the emperor were produced immediately upon proclamation and sent out regularly to the various places in the empire where busts and portraits would be made.⁴⁶² This includes the imperial mints spread out across the empire. In this way the image of the emperor was controlled across a huge area. Imperial mints were directly controlled by the imperially appointed officials, while local workshops were not under the direction of an imperial official and their statues were based only on the imperial prototype.⁴⁶³ This means that more variability is present in sculptures and busts than in coin portraits.

2. The Portrait of the Emperors from Aurelian to Numerian

Aurelian

The image of Aurelian is known almost entirely from his coinage. Here he appears as a stern middle-aged emperor, with short hair and a cropped beard, and wearing a draped cuirass. On gold coins he most often wears a laureate crown, a symbol of victory, and is draped and cuirassed. At all mints, and on billon and gold coinage, the image of Aurelian is similar. It is evident that different artists rendered the image of Aurelian at different mints; however, the image is recognizable, lifelike, and consistent.⁴⁶⁴ Some variation exists, most notably the exaggerated length of his neck on some, but not all, billon coins from Serdica.⁴⁶⁵ Only one statue is confidently attributed to him: the gilded bronze head of Aurelian in the Santa Giulia Museum in Brescia, Italy

⁴⁶⁰ L'Orange 1965: 105-25; Smith 1997: 179-83.

⁴⁶¹ Manders, Hekster 2009: 153-62; Manders 2012: 95-98.

⁴⁶² Smith 1997: 176-79, 188-91; Hekster 2023: 45-47.

⁴⁶³ Smith 1997: 176-79, 188-91; Norena 2011: 250-51; Hekster 2023: 45-47.

The *procurator monetae* was the official in charge of a mint in the third century. See Norena 2011: 251.

⁴⁶⁴ See appendix 3.1 section 1 for selected images of Aurelian's billon and gold coinage from various mints.

⁴⁶⁵ See appendix 3.1 image 1.2.

strongly resembles the image of Aurelian on his coinage, but it also resembles the image of Claudius Gothicus and Probus on their coinage.⁴⁶⁶ The head is a lifelike image of a stern middle-aged emperor. He is not wearing a crown, or it was lost; the torso is lost.

Tacitus and Florian

The images of Tacitus and Florian differ from that of Aurelian, but their images are still recognizably those of a soldier emperor. Both of their images remained consistent across mints and metals, despite their short reigns. Florian ruled only eighty-eight days, but his image was clearly communicated across the empire. On his coinage, Tacitus is evidently older and heavier than Aurelian, with a receding hair line and curled neck beard. His expression remains stern; he is also draped and cuirassed on the billon coinage. The laureate crown is more common on gold coins.⁴⁶⁷ His only known bust, found at the Louvre in Paris, reflects this portrait, although he appears less heavy-set.⁴⁶⁸ The image of Florian resembles that of Tacitus, but he is less heavy and does not have a receding hairline. There are no statues attributed to Florian.⁴⁶⁹ These two emperors do not resemble Aurelian, but the style of their portraits is very similar to that of Aurelian. Their image was communicated across the empire in a short period.

Probus

The image of Probus very closely resembles that of Aurelian, particularly on his coinage. The short hair, cropped beard, stern expression, and cuirass are all hallmarks of his billon coinage. His portrait is recognizable on coins from all mints and on both billon and gold coins.⁴⁷⁰ There is more variation in what Probus wears in comparison to Aurelian. He is often depicted with the

⁴⁶⁶ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.1. See Bergmann 1977: 113-16.

⁴⁶⁷ See appendix 3.1 sections 2 and 3 for selected images of Tacitus and Florian's coinage respectively.

⁴⁶⁸ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.2. See Kersauson 1996: 514-15.

⁴⁶⁹ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.3 for a doubtful head of Florian.

⁴⁷⁰ See appendix 3.1 sections 4 for selected images of Probus' coinage.

imperial mantle, and various sceptres, shields, and spears.⁴⁷¹ Two heads have been attributed to him. The marble head in the Capitoline Museums, in Rome, resembles the portrait on his coinage, with a slightly longer beard.⁴⁷² The gilded bronze head in the Santa Giulia Museum, Brescia also strongly resembles his coinage, and that of Aurelian from the same museum.⁴⁷³ These two statues closely resemble each other, indicating control of his image on statues like that on his coinage.

Carus and his sons

The images of Carus and his sons are also those of soldier emperors. All three emperors are recognizable on billon and gold coins from mints in the West and East. Carus himself resembles Aurelian and Probus but is bald on the top of his head.⁴⁷⁴ This is very uncommon for a Roman emperor and makes Carus' portrait particularly recognizable. The only statue sometimes attributed to him is in the Archaeological Museum of Ostia, in Rome. It is lifelike and matches the image on his coinage.⁴⁷⁵

Carinus, as *caesar* and as *augustus*, has the same cropped hair and beard, and draped cuirass as the other soldier emperors.⁴⁷⁶ He is not bald like his father. There are two marble busts at the Capitoline Museums in Rome that are attributed to Carinus. One very much resembles his coinage, the other appears with longer hair and beard and resembles a second century emperor.⁴⁷⁷ There is variation in Carinus' image on statues.

⁴⁷¹ See appendix 3.1 images 4.1, 4.2, and 4.5. The imperial mantle was the emperor's purple robe, a significant identifier of imperial power and position. See L'Orange 1965: 19-33; Cocoran 2017: 70-71; Rollinger 2023: 94-96.

⁴⁷² See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.4. See Bergmann 1977: 106-07; Berressem 2018: 391-92.

⁴⁷³ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.5. See Bergmann 1977: 106-07; Berressem 2018: 391-92.

⁴⁷⁴ See appendix 3.1 sections 5 for selected images of Carus' coinage. His baldness is noticeable on billon coins (5.1) and gold coins (5.3).

⁴⁷⁵ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.6. See Calza 1947: 10-11.

⁴⁷⁶ See appendix 3.1 sections 6.1 for selected images of Carinus' coinage as *caesar* and 6.2 for selected images of Carinus' coinage as *augustus*.

⁴⁷⁷ See appendix 3.2 images 3.2.7 and 3.2.8 respectively. See Bergmann 1977: 104; Leadbetter 2009, 50-51; Berressem 2018: 392-93.

Numerian appears like a soldier emperor on his coinage, but with a shorter beard and longer hair.⁴⁷⁸ This makes him appear more youthful, which he was, and distinguishes his portrait from those of his brother and father. The only statue potentially depicting him, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, reflects this, but his beard and hair are longer.⁴⁷⁹ He also appears more like a second century emperor, like the busts of Probus and Carinus. Carus and his sons shared power, but their portraits remained distinct and continued to reflect reality: Carus appears older, most clearly reflected in his baldness, Carinus appears as a distinguished soldier emperor, and Numerian as a more youthful soldier emperor. Sometimes the emperors appear alongside each other on the coinage, and they remain distinguishable on these coins as well.⁴⁸⁰ Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus, also appears on the coinage, contributing to the image of an imperial dynasty like that of the Severans.⁴⁸¹

Analysis: the portraits of the emperors immediately preceding Diocletian

The portraits of the six emperors who reigned in the decade before Diocletian are lifelike and realistic depictions of the emperor. These emperors were career soldiers, and their image in these portraits is that of the most senior soldier. On their coinage, their portraits are in the same style, but the six men can all be distinguished by their facial features. The emperor resembles a regular soldier, with a short beard and short hair, he wears a cuirass and military cloak, and his expression is one concerned with the defence of the empire. The few statues that survive and have been identified as these emperors reflect the portraits on their coinage. The portraits of Carus and

⁴⁷⁸ See appendix 3.1 sections 7.1 for selected images of Numerian's coinage as *caesar* and 7.2 for selected images of Numerian's coinage as *augustus*.

⁴⁷⁹ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.8. See Comstock, Vermeule 1976: 240-42.

⁴⁸⁰ See appendix 3.1 images 6.2.1 (billon) and 6.2.3 (gold).

⁴⁸¹ In particular the use of lunar imagery for Magnia Urbica in harmony with solar imagery for Carinus, and the youthful appearance of Numerian, the *caesar*. See Smith 1997: 179-83; Holscher 2004: 86-87, 126-27; De Blois 2018: 245-60; Hijmans 2024: 952-56.

his sons, Carinus and Numerian, are all rendered in the style and image of the soldier emperors, and the three men are easily distinguished. Alongside the appearance of Carinus' wife on the coinage, this forms an image of an imperial family in the mold of previous imperial dynasties.

3. The Portraits of the First Tetrarchy

The dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian

The images of Diocletian and Maximian between 284 and 293 are those of soldier emperors in the same style as their immediate predecessors. Their portraits are distinct from one another. On his coinage, Diocletian resembles Aurelian and Probus; he has a more square head than the earlier emperors, but he does not appear heavier per se. His expression is stern; he is most often draped and cuirassed on his billon coinage.⁴⁸² On the gold coinage, the laureate crown is most common, and his torso appears less frequently, but is often draped and cuirassed.⁴⁸³ Maximian's portrait is similar, but his nose is retroussé, or snubbed, and his eyes are deeper under his brow.⁴⁸⁴ Maximian's portrait is more lifelike than Diocletian's, who appears more idealized.⁴⁸⁵ Maximian's hair, beard, expression, and dress match those of Diocletian, except on coins on which he is wearing the skin and head of the Nemean lion. This reflects his connection with Hercules, emphasizing his *signum*, *Herculius*. No equivalent symbol of Jupiter is present on any obverse of Diocletian's coinage.⁴⁸⁶ The image of both men on their coinage depicts them as the middle-aged career soldiers that they were. Although they look alike, they are distinct – Maximian's nose and heavier appearance make it easy to differentiate the two emperors. There are variations in their appearance when rendered

⁴⁸² Calza 1972: 90-91; Smith 1997: 179-83; Gazdac 2017: 149-55.

⁴⁸³ See appendix 3.1 section 8 for selected images of Diocletian's coinage between 284-293.

⁴⁸⁴ See appendix 3.1 section 9 for selected images of Diocletian's coinage between 284-293. See Calza 1972: 119-20.

⁴⁸⁵ Calza 1972: 90-91.

⁴⁸⁶ There is no obvious headwear that would symbolize Jupiter. Diocletian never appears with a bare head of long curly hair as Jupiter is often depicted.

by the different engravers working at each mint, but they are consistently recognizable as individuals at mints across the empire.⁴⁸⁷

The only statues that can be definitively dated to the dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian are the reliefs from Diocletian's imperial complex in Nicomedia.⁴⁸⁸ Their appearance in these reliefs resembles that of their coinage from the same period. They are very similar, but not identical - Diocletian appears slightly taller, with larger eyes, and with his hair and beard painted brown and grey; Maximian is shorter, with the *retroussé* nose common on his coinage, and hair and beard painted strikingly red in contrast to Diocletian. They are both draped and cuirassed, and are both stepping down from ceremonial chariots, Victories fly to either side of their heads, and the two emperors are embracing.⁴⁸⁹ The relief clearly demonstrates a celebration of military victory, which is consistent with the other militaristic aspects of their appearance.⁴⁹⁰ On both their coinage and statues, Diocletian and Maximian are presented as similar, but not identical, soldier emperors. The importance of their military background and their ability to lead the army in the protection of the empire is highlighted in their dress, headwear, and appearance. Their joint rule is depicted in their similar appearance, and, in the case of statues, their unity is reflected in their embrace.⁴⁹¹

There are also statues of these two emperors individually. These cannot be decisively dated to their joint rule or the tetrarchy.⁴⁹² More statues of Diocletian are known than of Maximian, although strikingly few are known for either emperor given that they ruled for more than twenty years. Statues of both were destroyed as part of their *damnatio memoriae*.⁴⁹³ The busts attributed

⁴⁸⁷ Smith 1997: 179-83.

⁴⁸⁸ Holscher 2004: 50-53; Sara-Agturk 2021: 3-8.

⁴⁸⁹ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.16. See Holscher 2004: 50-53; Sara-Agturk 2021: 54-59.

⁴⁹⁰ Holscher 2004: 50-53; Sara-Agturk 2021: 54-59; Guidetti 2023: 121-24.

⁴⁹¹ Holscher 2004: 50-53; Sara-Agturk 2021: 54-59; Guidetti 2023: 121-24.

⁴⁹² Or the solo reign of Diocletian, their times as *seniores augusti*, or Maximian's two later usurpations.

⁴⁹³ Ordered by Constantine in 310. Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 42. 13; Barnes 1982: 32-35.

to Diocletian are varied. They follow a general style of square features and large eyes, with the stern expression and cropped hair and beard of the soldier emperors.⁴⁹⁴ These indicate that the style of portrait, particularly the large eyes in combination with the features typical of the soldier emperors, were communicated across the empire as the appearance of Diocletian. For Maximian, the marble busts from Toulouse depict him as Hercules, and the one found at Utica depicts him in military dress with a civic crown.⁴⁹⁵ Not much can be discerned from these, other than that variation existed between statues created by different artists. Control over their image was not so tight that they only ever appeared in one style, expression, or setting, and was significantly less controlled for statues than it was for coins. This was standard and can also be seen in the varied busts of Carinus from his short reign.

The first tetrarchy, 293-94

The image of the tetrarchs is an evolution of the image of Diocletian and Maximian. Billon coins were struck for all four emperors in 293-94 before the coinage reform of 294. The image of Diocletian and Maximian on these coins is no different from their image on the billon coins from before 293. The image of Constantius and Galerius is in the same style as that of Diocletian and Maximian.⁴⁹⁶ They are all most often rendered with the same short, cropped hair and beard, stern expression, square head, and draped cuirass. From the earliest emissions, Constantius is depicted with a distinctive large, hooked nose.⁴⁹⁷ It is most notable on coins from western mints where he held power, so perhaps his proximity ensured more accurate portraits.⁴⁹⁸ Galerius does not have

⁴⁹⁴ Including the busts from Istanbul Archaeological Museum (image 3.2.10), see Calza 1972: 91-92; L'Orange 1977: 96; and the Archaeological Museums, Milan (image 3.2.11), see L'Orange 1977: 98 (may be Maximian, see Calza 1972: 122); amongst others.

⁴⁹⁵ For the bust from Toulouse, see image 3.2.12, and Balty 2008: 599-606; for the statue from Utica, see Calza 1972: 121.

⁴⁹⁶ See appendix 3.1 section 10.1 for selected images of the tetrarchs' coinage from 293-94.

⁴⁹⁷ See appendix 3.1 images 10.1.5 and 10.1.6.

⁴⁹⁸ Smith 1997: 179-83.

any distinguishing features and resembles Diocletian, perhaps with a squarer head on some coins. Constantius and Galerius do not appear younger than Diocletian and Maximian. Maximian continued to be distinguished by his heavier appearance, heavier brow, and snub nose. The four emperors were clearly meant to resemble each other, but they are by no means identical. Although subjective, the tetrarchs on pre-reform billon coins are no more identical than Aurelian and Probus on their billon coins. No gold coins can be definitively dated for all four emperors in this short period.

The first tetrarchy, 294-305

With the coinage reform of 294 came changes to the image of the tetrarchs. Their image differed more among the different mints than the emperors before them, and a new style developed.⁴⁹⁹ This period is longer than any of the reigns of the previously discussed emperors, and longer than the reign of Diocletian and Maximian up to that point, so greater variation is perhaps to be expected. In this new portrait style on billon coins, the four emperors sometimes appear essentially identical at some eastern mints.⁵⁰⁰ These portraits are less lifelike than their previous portraits and they do not resemble ordinary men. They are defined by heads that take up more of the obverse surface, with thick necks, sometimes as thick as or thicker than the emperors' head; the heads are very square, with particularly large cheeks and short foreheads; very large eyes, sometimes larger than their foreheads; and the short hair and beard of a soldier emperor, but the beard often covers much of the neck. There is little or no indication of difference in age between *augusti* and *caesares*. These busts appear with both radiate and laureate crowns, depending on the

⁴⁹⁹ Smith 1997: 179-83.

⁵⁰⁰ See appendix 3.1 section 10.2-billon coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' billon coinage from 294-305. Note the exaggerated neck and eyes of the emperors from both a western mint (Aquileia, left column) and an eastern mint (Antioch, right column). All eight coins are the same denomination.

denomination; on those with laureate crowns, only their heads are visible, on those with radiate crowns, they are draped and cuirassed.

These features are most exaggerated at eastern mints, in particular on coins from the mint in Alexandria. When rendered by the same engraver and struck in the same *officina*, the four emperors often appear nearly identical.⁵⁰¹ The four men appear most similar on coins from Alexandria, where each of the three *officinae* produced coins for all four emperors.⁵⁰² The distinct noses of Constantius and Maximian are not always present on these coins at eastern mints, although the heavier face and snub nose of Maximian are more common than the hook nose of Constantius.⁵⁰³ Diocletian and Galerius continue to look very similar with no particularly distinguishing features. The style appears at all western mints as well, so it was evidently an imperial directive, but the features are not as exaggerated. The distinct noses of Constantius and Maximian are more prominent on these coins in comparison to the eastern coins. The degree to which these features appear varies by mint and engraver. At Carthage, for example, the four emperors each appear very similar but without the overly exaggerated features of the eastern mints. At London, the nose of Constantius is very prominent, but the heavier face of Maximian is less present. At Aquileia it is the opposite: the heavy face and snub nose of Maximian are present, but Constantius' nose is not as prominent.⁵⁰⁴

Since the mints were centrally controlled, each mint and engraver produced portraits with the same general features that define the tetrarchs. However, the prominence of their details and similarities differ. In fact, there appears to be more variation in the portraits among the mints after

⁵⁰¹ An *officina* is a workshop within a mint.

⁵⁰² *RIC* VI: 645-52.

⁵⁰³ Note the absence of Constantius' hook nose in images 10.2.5 (from Aquileia) and 10.2.6 (from Antioch).

⁵⁰⁴ See images 10.2.3 and 10.2.5 respectively.

the coinage reform. The features that define the image of the tetrarchs were clearly communicated to all the mints of the empire, but the individual mints appear to have had some degree of autonomy over the degree of the features and similarity of the emperors. The emperors were certainly capable of enforcing uniformity across the empire's mints, as seen in the reverses and title formulae on these same coins.⁵⁰⁵ They did not choose to enforce an identical portrait on their billon coinage at every mint. Instead, they clearly communicated a new style for their portraits but did not enforce a universal image across all mints and metal types. The four emperors look very similar, and they have the same distinct features in comparison to previous emperors. Their portrait is highly stylized and does not necessarily reflect reality; Diocletian's neck was probably not thicker than his head and his eyes were probably not as large as his forehead.

These portraits are not lifelike, and the emperor most often cannot be identified solely on the basis of the portrait, aside from some coins with the distinct features of Maximian and Constantius. Diocletian and Galerius appear the most similar, but perhaps they did not have distinct facial features.⁵⁰⁶ As was the case with the reverses and title formulae, the eastern mints produced coins with less variation. The mints in the East appear to have been more tightly controlled, or were more coordinated, than the mints in the West. Why this was the case is unclear, but it appears that the two halves of the empire were coordinated separately, and Diocletian enforced greater coordination than Maximian did.

The coinage reform of 294 reintroduced a high percentage silver coin struck at ninety-six to the pound, called an *argenteus*.⁵⁰⁷ They were not minted in London, Lyons, or Cyzicus. The portraits on these coins have the same distinct features as the post-reform billon coins, but they are

⁵⁰⁵ See chapter 2.1 and appendix 1.1 for the title formulae. See appendix 2 for the reverses of these coins.

⁵⁰⁶ L'Orange 1965: 105-25; Smith 1997: 191-94.

⁵⁰⁷ *RIC* 6 pp. 93-100.

never as exaggerated. They are all rendered with the short hair, short beard, and stern expression of the soldier emperors who preceded them, but their cheeks and necks are thicker, and their beards occasionally cover parts of their necks as well as their jawlines. They always wear laureate crowns, and only their heads are shown.⁵⁰⁸ The distinctive noses of Maximian and Constantius are not always present and are not as prominent as they are on the billon coins, but they appear on coins from both western and eastern mints. The portraits on the silver coinage appear more lifelike than those of the billon coinage; the portraits are of four regular men who look alike, perhaps brothers. They are more consistent across all of the empire's mints and there are no major distinctions between western and eastern portraits that cannot be attributed to differences in the engravers and their individual skills.

The portraits on the gold coins of the tetrarchs between 294 and 305 are generally similar to those on the silver coins, but with greater variation.⁵⁰⁹ The defining features of the tetrarchs appear on these coins, but they are never as exaggerated as they are on the billon coinage. On some coins from western mints, their portraits more closely resemble those of the pre-reform coinage than those of the post-reform billon and silver coinage. As was the case with the portraits on the silver coinage, their portraits are lifelike. They most often appear with laureate crowns but are occasionally helmeted or bareheaded; Maximian and Constantius both occasionally appear with the lionskin of Hercules. Their torsos do not appear on most gold coins. On some coins from Trier, the reverses feature a bust of Jupiter for Diocletian, Hercules for Maximian, and Mars for both *caesares*. The emperor's busts on these coins, which resemble those on gold coins from other

⁵⁰⁸ See appendix 3.1 section 10.2-silver coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' silver coinage from 294-305. Note the reverse XCVI on the coins from Aquileia (left column), indicating their silver content – 1/96 pound.

⁵⁰⁹ See appendix 3.1 section 10.2-gold coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' gold coinage from 294-305. Also see Smith 1997: 191-94; Gazdac 2017: 149-55.

mints, are not made to resemble the god or hero and are clearly distinguishable from one another. Therefore, it can be presumed that they are made to appear lifelike rather than idealized.⁵¹⁰ The stylized features, notably the thick neck and large eyes, are more present and obvious on coins from eastern mints but are less dramatic than they are on the billon coinage. As was the case with the portraits on the silver coins, this can be attributed to the skill of individual engravers.

There are two known sets of statues that depict the four tetrarchs together: the two statues affixed to the corner of St Mark's Basilica in Venice, which were plundered from Constantinople in or shortly after 1204, but must have originally come from another city; and the two statues held in the Vatican libraries, which were found in Rome sometime before 1510 near the Baths of Diocletian.⁵¹¹ They have many similarities: both are made up of two distinct groups of embracing emperors in military dress that are or were affixed to columns; both are made of porphyry, as were the columns they were attached to; neither was painted; the presumed senior emperor's arm is in front and the younger's arm behind; both have stern expressions and stare ahead; both have the greater than life-size eyes, that are also found on their coinage; and none have the thick necks of those same coins. There are a few differences: the Venice tetrarchs are two pairs of one *augustus* and one *caesar* while the Vatican tetrarchs are one pair each of *augusti* and *caesares*; the *caesares* of the Venice group do not have beards, while they do in the Vatican group; the Venice group wear the hats common to Illyrian soldiers while the Venice group has laureate crowns; the Venice group hold the hilts of swords at their waists in their left hands while the Vatican group hold globes; the

⁵¹⁰ See appendix 3.1 section 10.2-gold coins - compare those from Trier (left column) to those from Antioch (right column).

⁵¹¹ The Venice tetrarchs are presumed to have come from Nicomedia, Diocletian's residence as emperor, which is about 100 kilometres south-east of Constantinople. Constantinople was not founded until 330, so it can not have originated there. See Calza 1972: 98-105

Venice tetrarchs are all missing their noses while the *caesares* of the Vatican tetrarchs have their noses, and the nose of the left *caesar* is hooked.⁵¹²

The image projected by these two groups of statues emphasizes the image found on the coinage of the tetrarchs. The individual emperors of the Venice group appear even more similar than their portraits on the coinage, only distinguished by the beards of the *augusti*.⁵¹³ The respective *augusti* and *caesares* of the Vatican group are similar, but the two pairs are distinguishable: the left *augustus* is slightly taller, appears elder, and has his arm in front of the other which contributes to him appearing more senior, so it must depict Diocletian.⁵¹⁴ Height and arm position are also used to differentiate Diocletian from Maximian on the reliefs from Nicomedia.⁵¹⁵ Maximian's nose is missing, so it is unclear if he was distinguished this way, as he very often is on his coinage. The two *caesares* are similarly differentiated, but the nose of the elder is hooked, which is consistent with the image of Constantius. Constantius was older than Galerius and was the senior of the two *caesares* in terms of authority, which this statue supports.⁵¹⁶

The two surviving groups are far more similar in style than any two surviving statues of near-contemporary emperors. There are no known statues of female relatives of the emperors from the first tetrarchy, which contrasts sharply with previous dynasties.⁵¹⁷ There are no known groups of the four that are not in this style, which is perhaps surprising since a statue in a more traditional

⁵¹² See appendix 3.2 images 3.2.17-19 for the Venice tetrarchs, and 3.2.20-21 for the Vatican tetrarchs.

⁵¹³ L'Orange 1965: 45-53; Smith 1997: 179-83; Elsner 1998: 61-63; Holscher 2004: 50-53; Leadbetter 2004: 265-56; Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

⁵¹⁴ This is typical of imperial iconography. See L'Orange 1965: 45-53; Smith 1997: 179-83; Elsner 1998: 61-63; Holscher 2004: 50-53; Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

⁵¹⁵ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.16. Also see p. 128.

⁵¹⁶ Constantius is named first in imperial edicts. See *CIL* III: EDICT p. 824.

⁵¹⁷ The retirement residence of Diocletian and his wife Prisca in Split has some depictions of Prisca. These include a statue base and marble reliefs in the mausoleum. As these are either private depictions inside their residence, as opposed to public facing statues, or depictions relating to the death and potential deification of the emperor, these statues have been excluded from the discussion. Elsner 1998: 86-7; Chen 2018: 51-55; De Blois 2018: 245-60.

style would presumably be less distinctly representative of the tetrarchy. A statue of the four tetrarchs in a style like the reliefs from Nicomedia would be less indicative of the tetrarchs, and perhaps more likely to be repurposed with recurved heads rather than destroyed. This may indicate that there were no or few statues of the four tetrarchs in a style other than those that survive, which suggests a more controlled and standardized image than previous emperors.

Beyond just their similar appearance, the image of unity and fraternity among the four emperors is emphasized by their embrace. Their concern for the empire is reflected in their expression and their dress, as it is in their coinage. Their dress and what they hold in their left hands also reflects their ability to defend the empire. The swords of the Venice group indicate martial ability, while the globes of the Vatican group indicate world dominion and the completeness of Roman rule. Their large eyes and distant stares portray an image of foresight and divine inspiration, which is also present on their coinage.⁵¹⁸ The four personalities of the four emperors are replaced by the concept of a united imperial college, demonstrated in both the physical similarity and embrace of the four emperors.⁵¹⁹ The choice of porphyry also reflects their divine support as it was typically reserved for statues of the gods and emperors due to its rarity, imperial colour, and hardness, which makes it difficult to work with.⁵²⁰ The statues were also not painted, emphasising the purple quality of the porphyry and contributing to a striking image in contrast to white marble statues that would have been vividly painted, such as those at Nicomedia. These statues would have been distinctive. No symbols of Jupiter or Hercules are present. Such symbols are only rarely present in the portraits on the coinage of the tetrarchs in the form of Hercules' lionskin on coins of Maximian and Constantius. The portraits of the first tetrarchy create

⁵¹⁸ A reference to the large eyes and upward gaze present in the image of Hellenistic kings. Bardill 2012: 19-24.

⁵¹⁹ L'Orange 1965: 75-79; MacCormack 1981: 22-33; Guidetti 2023: 124-34.

⁵²⁰ And occasionally living emperors. Calza 1972: 98-105.

an image of an elevated and harmonious college of four emperors, demonstrated in their similarity in appearance, the material of their statues, and their mutual embrace.

4. The Portraits of the Second Tetrarchy

The second tetrarchy, 305-306

The second tetrarchy lasted only fourteen months, and no surviving statues depict the group together. The portraits on their coinage do not always follow the same style as those of the first tetrarchy. There is more variation in their appearance on billon coins than was present for the first tetrarchy. Billon coins from Aquileia often depict the emperors helmeted and holding a spear over their shoulder. On these coins, the emperors do not have the exaggerated features of the first tetrarchs but do have the same short beard and hair. The nose of Constantius is not noticeably different than the others'.⁵²¹ The thick necks and large eyes of the first tetrarchy are not common, and most mints produced coins with portraits that present the emperors in a less stylized manner. Mints from Ticinum and Alexandria continued to produce coins with the features typical of the first tetrarchy, although the emperors are not identical. Their image is still that of soldier emperors, but their shoulders and torso are not depicted on all denominations.⁵²² Constantius' nose is more prominent at some mints than others. Maximinus often appears more youthful than the others, sometimes with a shorter beard or a beard that covers only his jawline. Severus has a noticeably receded hairline at some western mints, but he is not bald. Galerius remains indistinct and continues to resemble Diocletian.⁵²³ The image of the second tetrarchy appears less coordinated

⁵²¹ These coins have the reverse VIRTUS AVGG ET CAESS NN, which did not appear for the first tetrarchs either, so these issues differed in more ways than just their portrait.

See appendix 3.1 section 11-billon coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' billon coinage from 305-306.

⁵²² Those with laureate crowns are just heads; those with radiate crowns or other headwear are draped and cuirassed, as is the case during the first tetrarchy.

⁵²³ Galerius' physical appearance is described by Lactantius as similar to the portraits present on his coinage. See Lactant. *Mort. Pers.* 9.1-3; Smith 1997: 193-95.

than that of the first tetrarchy. The highly stylized characteristics of the first tetrarchs, particularly common at eastern mints, are not as prominent or are absent, depending on the mint.

Far fewer silver coins were minted in this period, as the silver coinage had collapsed again.⁵²⁴ Those that are known, from Trier, Serdica, Antioch, and Alexandria, have the same portrait style as they did for the first tetrarchy.⁵²⁵ The four emperors are rendered in the same style, with only their heads showing, like the portraits on the silver coins of the first tetrarchy. The four emperors resemble each other and are less uniform than on the billon coinage but are not lifelike. On the gold coinage, their portraits have the most variations, as was the case during the first tetrarchy.⁵²⁶ Constantius' nose is the most prominent on these coins, particularly from western mints. Maximinus appears youthful and sometimes has a noticeably shorter beard than the others. Severus' hairline is distinct in some examples. Some coins from Lyons depict him in a cuirass. None of Galerius' features stand out. The gold coinage of the second tetrarchy from Nicomedia is a major exception to this image. Gold coins from this mint depict the four emperors as essentially identical and in a style similar to the billon coins of the first tetrarchy. Their heads are very large and square, and their necks, cheeks, and eyes are all exaggerated. They have short hair and cropped beards, and wear laureate crowns. None of the emperors display distinguishing features on these gold coins.⁵²⁷ Amongst all the coinage struck since the establishment of the first tetrarchy, the four emperors appear the most indistinguishable on these coins. These coins appear to have been created by a different engraver from the engraver of the gold coins from Nicomedia during the first tetrarchy, as the engraving of those is of a lower quality. Why this mint produced coins like those

⁵²⁴ *RIC* 6 pp. 93-100; Kallmes 2018: 6-8.

⁵²⁵ See appendix 3.1 section 11-silver coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' silver coinage from 305-306.

⁵²⁶ See appendix 3.1 section 11-gold coins for selected images of the tetrarchs' gold coinage from 305-306.

⁵²⁷ See the right column of appendix 3.1 section 11-gold coins.

of the first tetrarchy is unclear; Galerius was made *augustus* in Nicomedia, but it is unclear if he ruled from there and his principal residence is believed to have been Serdica, but perhaps they are indicative of his attempts to continue the dynastic image created by Diocletian.⁵²⁸

Several busts are identified as Constantius on his own. The two most confidently identified are currently held in museums in Germany and Denmark but both were found in Rome.⁵²⁹ They are identified as Constantius due to their depiction of a soldier emperor with large eyes and the distinctive large, hooked nose that appears on the coin portraits of Constantius.⁵³⁰ There are also two busts sometimes identified as Galerius. Both are porphyry, but neither is definitively identified as Galerius since his portrait, on the coinage or elsewhere, does not have any distinctive features. One comes from Felix Romuliana, where he was born, and the location of his presumed retirement palace, as well as his death.⁵³¹ This bust depicts Galerius with the large cheeks and eyes of the tetrarchic coinage but with no beard; he wears a civic crown.⁵³² The other bust comes from Athribis in Lower Egypt and may depict Maximinus instead.⁵³³ This bust has the short hair and cropped beard alongside the large staring eyes typical of the tetrarchs. His torso also survives, and he is wearing a *chlamys*, a military cloak. This statue is consistent with the image of the tetrarchs on their coinage and those in Venice and the Vatican.

⁵²⁸ Barnes 1982: 61-64.

⁵²⁹ Calza 1972: 162-64; L'Orange 1977: 110; Smith 1997: 184-87.

⁵³⁰ Calza 1972: 162-64; L'Orange 1977: 110; Smith 1997: 184-87.

⁵³¹ Elsner 1998: 61-63; Smith 1997: 179-83 191-94; Leadbetter 2009: 136-40.

⁵³² The civic crown was a very traditional symbol associated with saving another Roman citizen. It was used by Augustus and his successors to demonstrate that the emperor had saved the citizens of the empire. See Hekster 2023: 81-83.

⁵³³ Calza 1972: 144-45; L'Orange 1977: 107. Diocletian, Galerius and Maximinus were the most active in Egypt, see Barnes 1982: 47-67.

5. The Portraits of the Emperors After the Death of Constantius (306) to the Defeat of Licinius (324)

Eastern mints

Mints controlled by Galerius, 306-11 (Siscia up to 308, Serdica up to 308, Thessalonica from 308, Heraclea, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus)

After the death of Constantius in July 306, the style of the emperor's portraits did not change from that of the second tetrarchy at mints controlled by Galerius. On the billon coinage, the four recognized emperors, Galerius and Licinius as *augusti*, and Maximinus and Constantine as *caesares* or *filius augustorum*, are usually rendered in the same style.⁵³⁴ The large square heads with large eyes, short hair and beard, and thick neck are present on coins from all five mints. Their shoulders are omitted or barely appear, so their clothing is not visible, and they wear laureate crowns. The four emperors are distinguishable, but the most notable difference among them is that Constantine does not always have a beard. Maximinus continues to appear more youthful, with a shorter beard and less stern expression. Galerius and Licinius appear very similar. The exaggeration of their features and degree to which they resemble each other differs from mint to mint. The mint in Thessalonica produced coins with portraits of the emperors that are more similar to one another than those from the other mints.⁵³⁵

There were no silver coins issued from any of these mints during this period. The portraits on the gold coinage remained consistent with how they had been during the second tetrarchy.⁵³⁶ The exception, again, is at Nicomedia, where the same engraver was evidently still employed. The portraits from that mint continued to depict the same large square heads, large eyes, large cheeks,

⁵³⁴ See appendix 3.1 section 12-billon coins for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Galerius.

⁵³⁵ See appendix 3.1 section 12-billon coins – compares those in the left column (Thessalonica) to those in the right column (Heraclea).

⁵³⁶ See appendix 3.1 section 12-gold coins for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Galerius.

thick necks, and short hair and beard. The emperors remain nearly identical on gold coins from Nicomedia. The portraits on the coins struck at mints controlled by Galerius were less controlled and uniform than those minted at the same mints during the first tetrarchy. The exaggerated features of the tetrarchs, namely the thick necks, large square heads, and large eyes, are present on the billon coinage but are rendered on a more natural scale. The portraits vary less between the billon and gold coinage, but they vary more between mints. Constantine is occasionally singled out from the others by having no beard at all, making his portraits more distinguishable. The cleanshaven appearance of Constantine is more noticeable than the nose of Constantius or hairline of Severus during the second tetrarchy. The lack of a torso on the portraits makes them appear less like the soldier emperors of the late third century since no cuirass, shield, or spear is visible. In combination with the head shape and large eyes, the style of portrait for the successors of Diocletian in the East is distinct from those of his predecessors.

Mints controlled by Maximinus, 306-13 (Nicomedia from 311, Cyzicus from 3011, Antioch, Alexandria)

At mints controlled by Maximinus, the portraits on the coins resemble those from the mints controlled by Galerius. On the billon coinage, the four emperors have the large eyes and large square heads of the tetrarchs but with features that are not as exaggerated as they were during the first tetrarchy.⁵³⁷ Usually the portraits include just the heads and are not busts. They have short hair and short beards. Galerius and Licinius appear very similar, with neither one having a major distinguishing feature. They are essentially identical.⁵³⁸ Constantine and Maximinus also look similar, with shorter beards and more youthful appearances. When Maximinus became *augustus*

⁵³⁷ See appendix 3.1 section 13-billon coins for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Maximinus.

⁵³⁸ See appendix 3.1 images 13.1-13.4.

in 310, the style of his portrait remained the same, including his shorter beard.⁵³⁹ He is most distinguishable from the others on the coins with the reverse legend IOVIO PROPAGAT ORBIS TERRARVM, on which he is wearing the imperial mantle and raises his right hand. On other coins he does not have obviously distinguishing features from the other emperors.

No silver coins were struck. The gold coins also resemble those from the mints controlled by Galerius.⁵⁴⁰ Maximinus had been declared *augustus* by his troops but sought legitimacy from Galerius, the most senior emperor. This is reflected in his continuation of the same portrait style as coins struck at mints controlled by Galerius. By having himself and his co-emperors depicted in the same style as they were at mints controlled by Galerius, Maximinus signalled that his rule was founded in the same ideology.

Mints controlled by Licinius, 308-24 (Siscia up to 317, Serdica in 314, Thessalonica from 311 to 317, Heraclea from 311, Nicomedia from 313, Cyziscus from 313, Antioch from 313, Alexandria from 313)

In some ways, the portrait of Licinius on the coins struck at the mints he controlled more closely resembles those of the first tetrarchy than the portraits on the coins struck at the mints controlled by any of his contemporaries. On billon coins struck throughout the period between 308 and 324, Licinius appears with the short hair and beard, large square head, exaggerated eyes, thick neck, and short forehead that are typical of the emperors of the first tetrarchy.⁵⁴¹ This includes coins struck at Siscia between 308 and 311, where Galerius is given the same exaggerated features, and at all the mints Licinius came to control after his defeat of Maximinus in 313.⁵⁴² At Siscia and

⁵³⁹ See appendix 3.1 images 13.5 and 13.6 (as *caesar*) and 13.7-13.8 (as *augustus*).

⁵⁴⁰ See appendix 3.1 section 13-gold coins for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Maximinus.

⁵⁴¹ See appendix 3.1 section 14.1 for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 308-11.

⁵⁴² See appendix 3.1 images 14.1.1 and 14.1.3.

the other Balkan mints which Licinius gained control of from Galerius, the style of portrait is continuous from the reign of Galerius.⁵⁴³ At Alexandria and Antioch the exaggerated features of his portrait were absent when they were under the control of Maximinus, and so it was a deliberate decision for them to return.⁵⁴⁴ There are also variations in his portraits from that of the tetrarchs: on several billon coin types he appears in cuirass or imperial mantle. Some coin types from Nicomedia with the legend DD NN IOVII LICINII INVICT AVG ET CAES and DD NN CONSTANTINVS ET LICINIVS AVGG have confronted busts of their respective emperors holding *Fortuna* or a sceptre. The appearance of the emperors on these coins is varied – Licinius occasionally appears as he does on coins that feature only him, but at times he is depicted without a beard.⁵⁴⁵ Constantine appears to resemble Licinius.⁵⁴⁶ These are unlike anything the tetrarchs struck. In contrast to the very similar portraits of the tetrarchs, these coins indicate attempts to find different methods of communicating and defining the relationship between Constantine and Licinius.

The portrait of Maximinus continued in the same style as it was when these mints were controlled by Galerius.⁵⁴⁷ The portrait of Constantine initially follows that of the coins from the same mints before Licinius' seizure of them, but changes after the death of Maximinus in 313. Especially after 313, Constantine has the large square head and large eyes of Licinius, but he often does not have a beard, making him easily distinguishable from Licinius.⁵⁴⁸ He has the same short

Both Maximinus and Licinius were Galerian loyalist, but this is demonstrated in different ways. Different parts of Galerius' image were used by Licinius and Maximinus; Licinius used the exaggerated features that had originated under the tetrarchy. See Smith 1997: 184-87 191-94.

⁵⁴³ See appendix 3.1 section 14.2 for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 311-13.

⁵⁴⁴ See appendix 3.1 section 14.3-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 313-24.

⁵⁴⁵ See appendix 3.1 images 14.3.3 and 14.3.4.

⁵⁴⁶ High quality examples of coins with the legend DD NN CONSTANTINVS ET LICINIVS AVGG are lacking.

⁵⁴⁷ See appendix 3.1 images 14.1.5 and 14.2.3.

⁵⁴⁸ See appendix 3.1 images 14.1.7 (before 311), 14.2.5 (between 311 and 313), 14.3.2, and 14.3.6 (after 313) for billon coins minted in the name of Constantine at Licinius' mints.

hair as Licinius on these coins. It is not the same image that appears on coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, as we shall see, but the two emperors appear as two distinct individuals, indicating that their division of power was different than that of the tetrarchs.

The portraits on the gold coinage from the mints controlled by Licinius changed over time but also follow the same patterns as the first tetrarchy.⁵⁴⁹ There is variation of the emperors' portraits between mints, but the core aspects of the image of the tetrarchs is generally present. The short hair with large head, neck, and eyes are always present, but the emperors are more distinguishable, largely because Constantine does not have a beard. Their heads often take up most of the obverse field. When a torso does appear, it is typically cuirassed and draped. The coins minted early in his joint rule with Constantine, around 314-15, at Serdica and Nicomedia have the most exaggerated features.⁵⁵⁰ A major break from the image of the tetrarchs are front-facing portraits of Licinius on some gold coins minted at Nicomedia and Antioch in 321-22.⁵⁵¹ He still has the typical features of the tetrarchs but is distinguishable given his front-facing stare.⁵⁵²

The portraits of coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius continued the image of the tetrarchs in many ways, particularly on coins minted in his own name. The major departures, confronted busts or facing busts, still contain the typical features of the tetrarchs. Licinius was subject to *damnatio memoriae*, meaning his likeness in statues was destroyed or replaced, and so very little is known about his image in statues.⁵⁵³ There are very few surviving statues of Licinius. However, those that are known resemble the front-facing portraits on his coinage, showing a

⁵⁴⁹ See appendix 3.1 section 14.1 for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 308-11.

See appendix 3.1 section 14.2 for selected images of coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 311-13.

See appendix 3.1 section 14.3-gold coins for selected images of gold coins struck at mints controlled by Licinius, 313-24.

⁵⁵⁰ See appendix 3.1 images 14.3.9 and 14.3.10 (Serdica), and 14.3.13 and 14.3.14 (Nicomedia).

⁵⁵¹ See appendix 3.1 image 14.3.15.

⁵⁵² Front facing portraits appeared on coins of Maxentius and Constantine before these, see pp. 146, and 150 below.

⁵⁵³ Smith 1997: 188-91.

lifelike portrait of a middle-aged, heavy-set soldier emperor, with short hair and beard.⁵⁵⁴ The exaggerated eyes of the tetrarchs remain, but the expression is affable instead of stern, and a smile is noticeable.⁵⁵⁵ The portrait of Licinius in statues and on coins retained some of the features of the tetrarchs, such as the large eyes and military appearance, but lost other central aspects, such as the square, simplified features and stern expression.

Western mints

Mints controlled by Severus as augustus, 306-07 (Trier, Lyons, Ticinum, Aquileia, Siscia)

The mints controlled by Severus as *augustus* produced coins with the same portrait style as they had during the second tetrarchy, but with the title *augustus* instead of *nobilissimus caesar* for himself. The coins struck at these mints in this period of about nine months, from July 306 to the spring of 307, are essentially indistinguishable from those minted in the fourteen months that preceded it.⁵⁵⁶ Severus was elevated to *augustus* by the system of the tetrarchs, and spent his whole reign as *augustus* campaigning, so he had no reason or time to change his image.⁵⁵⁷

Mints controlled by Maxentius (Ticinum up to 310, Aquileia up to 310, Rome, Ostia from 308, Carthage up to 308)

The coins struck at mints controlled by Maxentius initially had portraits that resemble those of the second tetrarchy. Coins were minted in the names of Constantine, Maxentius, and Maximian, and all three are rendered in the same style, but are distinct. On the billon coinage, the portrait of Maximian resembles his portrait on coins from before his retirement, and his snub nose and heavy

⁵⁵⁴ See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.23. This statue is only a head, but it may have been set on a cuirassed body, contributing to its military appearance. See Smith 1997: 171-76, 188-91.

⁵⁵⁵ See Smith 1997: 188-91 201-02.

⁵⁵⁶ *RIC* 6 pp. 39-40, 47-48 for discussions about the issues of dating coins from these mints in this period.

⁵⁵⁷ Barnes 1982: 65.

face are present.⁵⁵⁸ Constantine appears as a generic tetrarch.⁵⁵⁹ He has the typical tetrarchic features, which are not overly exaggerated, as was the case with the portraits of Galerius or Constantius from the second tetrarchy from these same mints. His nose is larger than Maxentius' and is hooked, indicating his relation to Constantius. He is never clean-shaven, as he always is on coins from mints he controlled.⁵⁶⁰ Maxentius' portrait is also typical of the period, but perhaps he appears more youthful, and he does not have the snub nose of his father. On rare coins from Ostia, he wears the lionskin of Hercules, as his father and Constantius do on several gold coins during the first tetrarchy.⁵⁶¹

On silver coins from these mints, the emperors appear the same as they do on the billon coins. On some silver coin types from Rome, Maxentius' portrait is front-facing, distinguishing him from his co-emperors and rivals, but other features, such as the large eyes and short hair and beard, are typical of the tetrarchs.⁵⁶² On gold coins, there is greater departure from the portraits of the tetrarchs.⁵⁶³ The exaggerated features of the tetrarchs are not present, and the emperors are distinguishable and very life-like. Constantine's portraits on the gold coinage are inconsistent: some are bearded and some are clean shaven, some have a laureate crown and others have a radiate crown. He is given a nose reminiscent of his father. Unsurprisingly, Maximian's portrait appears most like those of the first tetrarchy, but his heavy appearance and snub nose are prominent. On the gold coinage, Maxentius himself appears more youthful and is distinct from the tetrarchs. He

⁵⁵⁸ See appendix 3.1 section 15-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Maxentius.

⁵⁵⁹ Smith 1997: 184-87; Bardill 2012: 11-13.

⁵⁶⁰ See pp. 148-51 below.

⁵⁶¹ Maxentius did not use the *signum Herculis*, and Hercules does not otherwise appear on his billon coinage. The lionskin also appeared on pre-reform billon coins of Maximian. See appendix 3.1 image 15.8 for an example of a gold coin with Maxentius wearing the lionskin.

⁵⁶² See appendix 3.1 section 15-silver coins. These coins were minted in 307-10, before the front facing portraits of Constantine (in 316) or Licinius (in 321).

⁵⁶³ See appendix 3.1 section 15-gold coins for selected images of gold coins struck at mints controlled by Maxentius.

is often bareheaded and his hair, although short, is longer than that of the tetrarchs and is brushed forward. This contributes to a civilian image reminiscent of Trajan or Augustus.⁵⁶⁴ His crowns vary; he appears with both the laureate and radiate crown, as well as bareheaded, on his gold coins.

There are several statues identified as Maxentius. The busts in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden and National Museum in Stockholm are the most typical.⁵⁶⁵ Both were found in Italy, but their provenance is unknown. They both have the same short but long enough to be visibly brushed forward hair, short beard, and youthful appearance with large eyes. These heads have the rigid features of the tetrarchs, but a more youthful and vigorous appearance reminiscent of earlier emperors.⁵⁶⁶ Maxentius appears to have controlled his image tightly given that several surviving statues depict him in the same way as his coinage. His image differs from that of the tetrarchs. The style of his own portrait and the portraits of his co-emperors differ, unlike the tetrarchs, whose portraits were always in the same style to create an image of unity. Additionally, the style of his image is clearly an evolution of the image used by the tetrarchs, particularly his immediate successors of the second tetrarchy.

⁵⁶⁴ Smith 1997: 184-87; Corcoran 2017: 70-71.

⁵⁶⁵ Calza 1972: 196; L'Orange 1977: 114-16.
See appendix 3.2 image 3.2.22.

⁵⁶⁶ Smith 1997: 184-87; Corcoran 2017: 70-71.

Mints controlled by Constantine (London, Trier from 307, Lyons from 307, Arles from 313, Ticinum from 312, Aquileia from 312, Rome from 312, Ostia 312-3, Siscia from 317, Sirmium from 320, Thessalonica from 317)

The image of Constantine differs greatly from that of the tetrarchs. Even on his earliest billon coins, from as far back as when he was *caesar* and only in control of the mint in London, he appears distinct from the tetrarchs.⁵⁶⁷ He is always cleanshaven, providing a stark contrast to the tetrarchs and the soldier emperors who preceded them. His nose is always prominent but is not necessarily as hooked as Constantius'. He appears youthful, which is in line with his use of *PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS* on his reverses as *augustus*. His head is usually less square than the tetrarchs', and his hair is slightly longer, more reminiscent of Augustus or Trajan than Diocletian.⁵⁶⁸ His eyes remain large, but his expression is less stern. As his reign continued and he expanded his control to the mints of the Balkans, these features remained prominent and began to appear on coins from mints previously under the control of Licinius, namely Siscia and Thessalonica.⁵⁶⁹

There is also greater variation in what he wears in comparison to the tetrarchs. His portrait is more often a bust than just a head, and he is typically wearing a cuirass. It is more common for him to be wearing a helmet than it is for the tetrarchs, and helmets appear on coins from various mints.⁵⁷⁰ He also occasionally holds a spear. His image is militaristic, like that of the tetrarchs, but this is emphasized differently than it was for the tetrarchs and is more like the soldier emperors

⁵⁶⁷ See appendix 3.1 section 16.1-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 306-13. Bardill 2012: 11-13.

⁵⁶⁸ L'Orange 1965: 105-25; Smith 1997: 184-87; Bardill 2012: 11-13.

⁵⁶⁹ See appendix 3.1 section 16.2-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 313-24.

⁵⁷⁰ See appendix 3.1 images 16.2.3 and 16.2.6.

who preceded them, such as Probus. Billon coins depicting cuirass, helmet, and spear were only issued from Ticinum and Aquileia in 305-06 for the emperors of the second tetrarchy, but they had been more common for Probus (r. 276-82).⁵⁷¹ The first tetrarchy moved away from this image, but Constantine returned to it.

The images of Licinius and Maximinus on billon coins from mints controlled by Constantine are different from the portraits from their own mints.⁵⁷² They all have the same large eyes that are typical of the tetrarchs. Maximinus appears quite similar to Constantine, and different from his image from the same mints when they were under the control of Severus or the second tetrarchy. Maximinus had always appeared youthful, but on coins struck under Constantine he is also clean shaven, his hair is a little longer, and his head is less square. In contrast, Licinius often appears with the square head, and short hair and beard of the tetrarchs. This continued as Constantine expanded eastward, and mints previously under Licinius' control switched to the style of portrait for Licinius found at the mints that were under Constantine's control. The cuirass and helmets that became more common on portraits of Constantine also appear for Licinius. Licinius' image at mints controlled by Constantine is reminiscent of the *augusti* of the second tetrarchy, with the distinct features of the tetrarchs rendered mildly.⁵⁷³ Very few silver coins were struck in mints under Constantine's control, and they follow the same patterns as the billon coinage.

⁵⁷¹ See chapter 2 section 2 and appendix 3.1 section 4 images 4.1, 4.2, and 4.5 for Probus.

See chapter 2 section 4 and appendix 3.1 section 11 images 11.1, 11.3, 11.5, and 11.7 for the emperors of the second tetrarchy.

See appendix 3.1 section 16.2-billon coins images 16.2.3 for Constantine.

⁵⁷² See appendix 3.1 section 16.1-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 306-13.

See appendix 3.1 section 16.2-billon coins for selected images of billon coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 313-24.

⁵⁷³ Compare appendix 3.1 images 16.2.2 and 16.2.4 (from Constantine's mints) to images 14.3.5 and 14.3.7 (his own mints).

The gold coinage also follows the same trends as the billon coins. Constantine never has a beard, and the shape of his head and jaw line are different from portraits of the tetrarchs.⁵⁷⁴ His eyes are large, although not as large as they are on billon coins. He more frequently appears heavier, but he always looks youthful and does not age as time passes. He most often appears with the laureate crown, but radiate crowns and helmets also appear.⁵⁷⁵ There are also front-facing coins from Ticinum. The few gold coins of Maximinus resemble billon coins minted in his name from the same mints, and he does not have a beard. Licinius has a beard but otherwise does not particularly resemble the tetrarchs. The large eyes and thick necks are gone, but they were less prominent on gold coins of the tetrarchs anyway. Constantine developed a new style of portrait from that of the tetrarchs and communicated his relationship with Maximinus and Licinius differently from the way that the tetrarchs had communicated their relationship.

There are far more statues of Constantine than any of the other emperors discussed due to his over thirty-year rule and because he was not subject to *damnatio memoriae*.⁵⁷⁶ These statues are unlike the surviving statues of the tetrarchs in style. They have the same characteristics as his portraits on the coins struck at mints that he controlled: he appears youthful, clean shaven, his hair is long enough to be brushed forward onto his forehead, and his eyes are very large. He is depicted wearing various crowns: a laureate, radiate, or civic crown, as well as a diadem.⁵⁷⁷ On statues where his body survives, he is often wearing military dress. There are no statues of Constantine and his co-emperors, demonstrating the unique nature of the two embracing sets of statues for the

⁵⁷⁴ See appendix 3.1 section 16.1-gold coins for selected images of gold coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 306-13.

See appendix 3.1 section 16.2-gold coins for selected images of gold coins struck at mints controlled by Constantine, 313-24.

⁵⁷⁵ See appendix 3.1 images 16.1.12 and 16.2.7.

⁵⁷⁶ Any of the statues discussed here can be found in Calza 1972: 213-47; L'Orange 1977: 118-28.

⁵⁷⁷ See appendix 3.2 images 3.2.24 and 3.2.25. See L'Orange 1965: 105-25; Smith 1997: 176-79; Bardill 2012: 19-24.

tetrarchs, and the rejection of this symbolism by Constantine. Constantine rejected Diocletian's idea of sharing power amongst equals. Another return to convention is their material: no known statues of Constantine are porphyry, in contrast to the two groups of tetrarchs and two busts of Galerius. Instead, statues of Constantine are white marble or bronze. Moreover, many of them are larger than life or colossal, while the surviving statues of the tetrarchs are about life size or smaller. This emphasizes the presence of Constantine.⁵⁷⁸ The porphyry of the tetrarchs similarly elevated them by depicting them in a material usually reserved for gods or deified emperors, but they did not dominate their surroundings like a colossal statue. Furthermore, the two groups of tetrarchs were affixed to columns that would have provided a diminishing perspective to the statues. The Venice tetrarchs are 136 cm, but their columns are believed to have been 7 m, meaning they made up 20% of their height; the Vatican tetrarchs are 56 cm and their columns are 385 cm, meaning they made up only 15% of their height.⁵⁷⁹ They would not catch the eye in the context of their large porphyry columns, at least not in the same way that the colossal statues of Constantine would.

Analysis: The Image of the First Tetrarchy from Their Portraits

The portraits of the emperors who reigned in the decade before Diocletian depict career soldiers who had risen to the highest military position in the empire. Their features are life-like, as the emperors who had come before them. They have the short hair and short beard of soldiers on campaign, typically wearing the armour and cloak of a soldier. Their expressions are stern and concerned with the defence of the empire. For Carus and his sons, Carinus and Numerian, three easily distinguishable men, the appearance of Carinus' wife, Magnia Urbica, and the youthful appearance of the *caesar*, Numerian, create the image of an imperial dynasty. This dynasty was

⁵⁷⁸ The colossal statue of Constantine in Rome is approximately eight times life size, and, unusually for a colossal statue, also preserves distinctive facial features, such as his large, hooked nose, indicative of its dynastic connotations. See Bardill 2012: 203-15.

⁵⁷⁹ For the height of the statues, see Calza 1972: 98-104. For the height of the columns, see Laubscher 1999: 207-09.

created in the same image of the Severans and other third century dynasties, such as Valerian and his son Gallienus. These emperors, Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, were depicted in the same artistic style as their predecessors, and like them, their subjects, career soldiers, firmly define their image.

The dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian continued the life-like depictions of the emperor. Both men appear like their immediate predecessors but with heads that are more square. They are clearly distinguished by the heavy appearance and retrousé nose of Maximian. No image of an imperial dynasty is present. Instead, Diocletian and Maximian are depicted as two unrelated generals with a fraternal relationship. The reliefs from Nicomedia most clearly demonstrate this – the two men are carved in white marble in a way that resembles the portraits on their coins, and they embrace in the centre of a military themed *adventus*. The earliest coins of the first tetrarchy, those issued before the coinage reform of 294, continue this image of unrelated, but similar appearing, career soldiers. The portraits of all four emperors on these coins are in the same style as those of Aurelian, Probus, or Carus. Despite the creation of an imperial dynasty with the marriage of Constantius and Galerius to the daughters of Maximian and Diocletian, respectively, no dynastic image in the style of other third century dynasties is present, like Carus'. No imperial women appear on the coinage, and the *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, do not appear youthful, because they were not the emperors' sons; they were middle-aged career soldiers.

After the coinage reform of 294, this image changed on the billon coinage and is reflected in the porphyry statues of the tetrarchs. The portraits of the tetrarchs on billon coinage became more uniform after the coinage reform, particularly at mints in the East, to the point of no longer being life-like. At some western mints, the noses of Maximian and Constantius are their only distinguishing feature. In addition to this uniformity, the facial features of the tetrarchs became

exaggerated. Their necks, cheeks, and eyes became larger. Their hair, beard and expression remained that of the soldier emperors. Their torsos typically do not appear on these coins, but the porphyry groups in Venice and the Vatican demonstrate the continued appearance of military attire. This image created by the billon coinage and porphyry groups is that of a unified imperial college made up of four indistinguishable, cohesive, and self-replacing, divinely chosen men. This image is not as evident on the silver coinage, virtually absent from the gold coinage, and not present in all statues of the tetrarchs. This indicates that the message was selected for certain audiences.⁵⁸⁰

The second tetrarchy largely continued the portrait style of the first tetrarchy on the billon coinage. The features of the emperors on the billon coinage remain uniform but are less exaggerated than those of the first tetrarchy. At western mints, Constantius' nose, Severus' hairline, and Maximinus' youth distinguish the emperors. Galerius continues to appear very much like Diocletian. The silver and gold coinage generally continued to be more lifelike than the billon coinage.

After Constantius' death in July 306, the portrait style on the coinage varied depending on which emperor controlled the mint. Different aspects of the tetrarchic image were continued and discarded depending on the desired image of the emperor who controlled each mint. The mints controlled by Galerius from July 306 to his death in 311, and those controlled by Severus between July 306 and his defeat in the spring of 307, continued the same portrait style of the second tetrarchy. Gold coins from Nicomedia under the control of Galerius produced coins with portraits in the style of the billon coinage of the first tetrarchy, indicating the continued usage of their image. Mints controlled by Maximinus as *augustus* produced portraits very similar to those controlled by

⁵⁸⁰ See pp. 157-58, 164-65 below for more discussion on the division of messages by metal type.

Galerius, except for the more youthful appearance of him and Constantine in comparison to Galerius and Licinius. Licinius also largely continued the portrait style of the tetrarchs for his own obverses. His portraits became more lifelike, defined by his heavy appearance, and this is reflected in his statues. Licinius rarely produced coins in the name of Constantine that do have a beard.

Maxentius and Constantine both challenged the image of the tetrarchs. Maxentius' coin portraits and statues depict a youthful emperor, often more civilian in appearance than the career soldier of the tetrarchy. Coins of his father, Maximian, are lifelike and easily identifiable, while the coins he briefly minted in Constantine's name are generic. Constantine consistently produced coins of himself without a beard, indicating an immediate break from the image of the tetrarchs. Over time his image came to clearly break from that of the tetrarchs. His hair became a little longer and more reminiscent of Augustus than a soldier emperor, indicating his desire to appear more civilian than the tetrarchs. His neck and facial features are not as exaggerated as the tetrarchs, and he always appears more youthful; his expression is not stern but relaxed, but the large eyes of the tetrarchs remain. Constantine built his image on that of the tetrarchs, selecting the features he desired to reflect his own ideology.

Conclusion

The image of the emperor changed during the long reign of Diocletian. That long reign began like that of many of his third century predecessors: one portion of the imperial army found itself without a clear leader, and Diocletian, the most ambitious of the *protectores*, the officer corps of career soldiers who surrounded the emperor, seized power and was hailed as *augustus* by the troops on 20 November 284. A civil war ensued, in which Diocletian emerged victorious. The story is similar for Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, and Carus, who had all come to power and died in the fifteen years before Diocletian became emperor. Facing problems of security like his predecessors, Diocletian split power with his fellow career soldier and friend Maximian in December of 285 to avoid the same fate as his predecessors. The division of the empire between two unrelated *augusti* was unprecedented.⁵⁸¹ Eight years later, with the empire continuing to face security threats, Diocletian and Maximian formally named successors, the adult career soldiers Constantius and Galerius, and named them *caesares*. Twelve stable years followed, which allowed Diocletian to institute a series of reforms to the military, administration, taxation, legal, and monetary systems. On 1 May 305, Diocletian and Maximian retired, allowing Constantius and Galerius to become *augusti* and promoting two more career soldiers to *caesares*. This only lasted one year, and the untimely death of Constantius in July 306 was followed by eighteen years of civil war.

Did Diocletian change the image of the emperor(s) alongside these unprecedented divisions of power and changes to the emperors' duties? If he did, is there an ideology that underpins the first tetrarchy, that can be seen in both imperially issued and controlled media, such as coins and

⁵⁸¹ Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180) and Lucius Verus (r. 161-169) were related only by adoption.

statues, and in media that preserve the reception and reflection of imperial messaging by the people of the empire, such as inscriptions?

To begin with, the titles on the imperial coinage demonstrate how the emperor presented himself to the literate people of the empire. The coinage of Diocletian and Maximian from 284 to 293 is like that of their predecessors. The most common obverse title formula is IMP(erator) C(aesar) [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus), as it was for their immediate predecessors Carus, Carinus, and Numerian. However, other title formulae with different combination of IMP, IMP C, AVG, P AVG, and P F AVG appear on their obverses, but are less common than they are on the coinage of Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian. Moreover, a much smaller number of total titles appear on the coinage of Diocletian and Maximian than for their predecessors, avoiding the balance of traditional and innovative titles found on the coinage of previous third century emperors. The traditional titles, P(ontifex) M(aximus), TR(ibunicia) P(otestate), CO(n)S(ul), P(ater) P(ariae), and PROCO(n)S(ul) rarely appear.⁵⁸² The other epithets used by their predecessors, RESTITVTOR ORBIS, DEVS ET DOMINVS, INV(ictus), BONVS, and PERPETVVS, as well as celebrations of specific victories, such as VICTORIA GERMANICA, do not appear.⁵⁸³ Diocletian and Maximian moved away from the lofty and innovative titles of their soldier emperor predecessors, but did not move towards traditional titles. Instead, they created a more standardized image of the emperor rooted in the most common and standard titles.

⁵⁸² The new formula of traditional titles CONSVL P P PROCO(n)S(ul) was introduced on gold coinage but is not common.

⁵⁸³ DEVS ET DOMINVS, INV, BONVS and PERPETVVS appear alongside each other and other traditional titles in legends such as IMP DEO ET DOMINO AVRELIANO AVG, PERPETVO IMP C PROBO INVICT AVG, and DEO ET DOMINO CARO INVICTO AVG, amongst other. See chapter 1.1 section 1.

With the establishment of the first tetrarchy on 1 March 293, only a slight change occurred in the titles of the *augusti*. In the West of the empire, under the rule of Maximian and Constantius, IMP [the emperor's names] P F AVG became more common than IMP C [the emperor's names] P F AVG on the billon coinage. This created a clearer division between *augustus* and *caesar* immediately upon the establishment of the tetrarchy that was not present in previous imperial colleges with an *augustus* and a *caesar*, such as Carus and his sons. The obverse legends on the coinage of the *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, in 293-94, have only [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR. *Princeps iuventutis*, a traditional prelude to being named *caesar* that is common on the coinage of previous *caesares*, also appears on some coins of Constantius and Galerius at this time.⁵⁸⁴

The coinage reform of 294 saw further changes to the titles on the coinage of the tetrarchs. On the billon coinage, in the West, the distinction between *augustus* and *caesar* remained at most mints, with IMP [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG and [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR being the most common obverse titles. In the East, at all mints, the vast majority of billon coins have the obverse legend IMP C [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG, with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*, while the *caesares* have [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR, with the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*. This indicates that the mints of the empire were divided between West and East, not into quarters, and that Diocletian held his mints in tighter coordination in the East than Maximian did in the West. No other titles appear on the billon coinage of the *augusti*, while PRINCIPI IVVENTVTI appears on the billon coinage of the *caesares*, but only from Rome. This further demonstrates their reduction in titles

⁵⁸⁴ These are largely the same titles that appear for Carinus and Numerian as *caesares* in 283, but IMP never erroneously appears for Constantius and Galerius.

and title formulae. The billon coinage was what was used in day-to-day transactions throughout the empire and therefore contains the standard messages that the tetrarchs wanted to send to the people of the empire.

On the silver coinage, [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVG and [Constantius/Galerius] CAES are the most common formulae. VICTORIA SARMATICA, a celebration of specific victory like a victory title, is virtually the only reverse type for both *augusti* and *caesares*. The silver coinage was highly coordinated and controlled. On the gold coinage, [Diocletianus/Maximianus] P F AVG and [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR are the most common obverse title formulae. On their reverses, CONSVL P P PROCOS, which was introduced in 290, appears on some gold coins of the *augusti* from Siscia and Antioch, and PRINCIPI IVVENTVTI appears on gold coins of the *caesares* from Siscia.⁵⁸⁵ Neither is common, and no other titles appear frequently on their reverses. The silver and gold coinage was used by the elites and for paying donatives to the soldiers, so their messages contain more specific aspects of the image of the tetrarchs – in this case military power on the silver, and a more traditional image on the gold.

With the retirement of Diocletian and Maximian in 305, the second tetrarchy began. The titles on the coinage of the *augusti*, Constantius and Galerius, and the *caesares*, Severus and Maximinus, follow the patterns of the first tetrarchy almost exactly.⁵⁸⁶ Billon coins in the names of the retired Diocletian and Maximian were minted at all mints in the empire in 305-06 with new titles that reflected the new position they created: D(omino) N(ostro) DIOCLETIANO/MAXIMIANO BEATISSIMO/FELICISSIMO SEN(iori) AVG(usto).⁵⁸⁷ These

⁵⁸⁵ CONSVL IIII P P PROCONSVL, for Diocletian, and CONSVL III P P PROCONSVL, for Maximian appear on gold coins from 290. See *RIC* 5.2 nos 307-08 and 609-10 respectively. This formula would become fixed on the coinage long after Diocletian and Maximian.

⁵⁸⁶ There were very few silver coins minted in 305-06, so that can not be determined.

⁵⁸⁷ Both superlatives, *beatissimus* and *felicissimus*, appear for both emperors with equal frequency.

titles reflect the ambiguous power of the former *augusti*, rooted more in their *auctoritas* than the titles of an *augustus*.

This created a three-tiered system of emperors in the imperial college and projected an image of a stable succession, where an emperor was first *caesar*, before becoming *augustus*, and then retiring to become *senior augustus*, ensuring the stable continuation of imperial power within the dynasty created by Diocletian and Maximian. Furthermore, the absence of imperial women on the coinage is striking in comparison to their predecessors, and indicative of the new imperial image of Diocletian and his colleagues. Instead of the dynastic image of the emperor, the *augustus*, his wife, the *augusta*, and his youthful son and successor, the *caesar*, that is commonplace in the third century, the tetrarchs present an image of an imperial college of only men, based not on dynastic succession from father to son, but adoption of the best candidate from the military. Last, the tetrarchs exercised tighter control over the coinage than their predecessors, with the three-tiered system of *seniores augusti*, *augusti*, and *caesares*, as well as the division of titles among billon, silver, and gold being present at all fifteen mints, whereas the titles on the coinage of their predecessors varies among mints and on between metals.

After the death of Constantius in July 306, the patterns of titles and title formulae on the coinage of the first and second tetrarchy were slowly abandoned by all the successors of Diocletian and Maximian. In the East, Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus continued the same standardized titles for the *augusti*. Coins of Diocletian and Maximian as *seniores augusti* were minted until their respective deaths in 311 and 310. Galerius forced the *caesares*, Maximinus and Constantine, to accept the title *filius augustorum*, and had coins struck in the name of his wife, Diocletian's daughter, Galeria Valeria, in attempts to hold the imperial college together. This broke with the image of the first and second tetrarchies by reverting to a dynastic image of *augustus*, *augusta*,

and his ‘sons’, not named *caesares*, but simply *fili augustorum*. After the deaths of Galerius and Maximinus in 311 and 313, Licinius continued to strike coins with the same title formulae for himself and Constantine as *augusti*, but eventually also for his son and the sons of Constantine as *caesares*. He would also appeal to the legitimacy of Diocletian by minting some coins with his *signum Iovius*, which never appeared on coins struck in the East under Diocletian.

In the West, Severus would continue the title patterns of the tetrarchs on the coinage during his short reign as *augustus*, but Maxentius and Constantine would not. Maxentius used both traditional titles, such as *princeps* and *consul*, and non-traditional titles, such as *dominus noster* and *invictus*, in addition to the epithet *conservator urbis suae*, to present the image of himself as the saviour of the imperial city. This clearly broke with the image and ideology of the tetrarchs, and he used far more titles and title formulae than they did. Constantine changed the titles on his coinage depending on the situation he found himself in. Initially he used titles like those of the tetrarchic *augusti*, with the addition of *princeps iuventutis* in an attempt to appear more youthful than his rivals. Following his victory over Maxentius, Constantine appropriated Maxentius’ image as the saviour of Rome, and *princeps* proliferated on the reverses of his coinage. Moreover, grandiose titles reminiscent of those found only in inscriptions of the tetrarchs, such as *RECTOR TOTIVS ORBIS* and *DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM*, began to appear on the coinage of Constantine. *Princeps* continued to appear after his first war with Licinius in 316. That war, and their subsequent war in 324, was initiated by Constantine’s desire to secure the succession of his sons over the son of Licinius and Constantina. During the period of 312-24, the titles on Constantine’s obverses decreased and the most common formula on his coinage became *CONSTANTINVS AVG*. During this period, he began to mint coins for his sons, as *caesares*, his wife, Fausta, and mother, Helena, first as *nobilissimae feminae*, and then as *augustae*, as well as

for his deceased father, Constantius, grandfather, Maximian and his purported ancestor, Claudius Gothicus, as *divi* and with various other titles.⁵⁸⁸ This broke with the patterns employed on the coinage of the tetrarchs and returned to an image of a familial dynasty more akin to those of the third century.

The titles in the inscriptions of the tetrarchs present a similar image to those on the coinage, with the major exception of grandiose epithets. For Diocletian and Maximian, IMP C is the most common set of titles before their names, as it was for their predecessors, but just IMP is more common for them than it was for their predecessors. This is similar to their coinage, but without the geographic separation of IMP C (on the Eastern coinage) and IMP (on the Western coinage). After their names, P F INV AVG is the most common set of titles, as it is for their predecessors. *Invictus* does not appear on the coinage of Diocletian and Maximian as *augusti*, but it does in official documents, such as the Edict of Maximum Prices. The traditional extended titles of the *augusti*, P M, TR P, COS, PROCOS, P P, PROCOS, and victory titles are significantly less common for Diocletian and Maximian than they were for their predecessors. Other epithets are more common for Diocletian and Maximian than they are for the emperors who ruled in the decade before Diocletian, except Aurelian. The epithets used for Diocletian and Maximian have a lofty quality that elevates the *augusti* more than those of any of their predecessors, including Aurelian. The epithets RESTITVTOR ORBIS and DEVS for Aurelian are surpassed by INVICTISSIMI REPARATORES ORBIS SVI ET PROPAGATORES GENERIS HVMANI, DII GENITI ET DEORVM CREATORES, and PARENTES GENERIS HVMANI for Diocletian and Maximian, amongst others. These titles often came from imperially commissioned inscriptions, but also

⁵⁸⁸ See appendix 1.1, section 16.6 for the other titles given to these deified emperors on coins minted in their names by Constantine. The most frequent formula is DIVO [Claudio/Maximiano/Constantio] OPTIMO IMP.

appear in civic, religious, and military contexts, indicating their acceptance by the people of the empire. They were not used on the coinage of the tetrarchs. As is the case with their coinage, their *signa* rarely appear. They were used in imperial contexts in the East, but only private contexts in the West, indicating a division between the emperors' image in East and West.

For the *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, their titles are largely the same as the previous *caesares*, Carinus and Numerian. NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR is the most common of the standard titles, while few others appear at all. DOMINVS NOSTER is common for both sets of *caesares*. This appears to be a result of confusion surrounding their position, as errors, such as the inclusion of *imperator* or *augustus*, are common in the inscriptions for all four *caesares*. The other official titles of Constantius and Galerius, TR P, which they renewed every year, and COS, which they both held multiple times as *caesares*, very rarely appear outside of the Edict of Maximum Prices, indicating that their traditional judicial and civic roles were not a major part of their image. In inscriptions with lofty epithets for the *augusti*, they are often applied to Constantius and Galerius as *caesares* as well, indicating the unity of the imperial college. Their *signa* very rarely appear in inscriptions where they are not given to the *augusti* as well.⁵⁸⁹ The inscriptions of Diocletian and Maximian as *augusti*, and Constantius and Galerius as *caesares*, demonstrate that the first tetrarchy elevated the position of the emperor by reducing the usage of traditional, Republican titles and introducing innovative and lofty epithets, as well as standardizing the image of the emperors by reducing the variety in title formulae.

As is the case with the titles on their coinage, some aspects of the image the tetrarchs created in their inscriptions were continued by some of their successors, while some aspects were

⁵⁸⁹ *Herculius* appears on milestones for Constantius as *caesar* in Africa; *Iovius* appears in one imperial inscription for Galerius in the East. That is 2/218 and 1/195 inscriptions respectively. They are very rare.

dropped. The titles in inscriptions of the second tetrarchy, Severus and Maximinus as *augusti*, Galerius as *augustus* after the death of Constantius, and for Licinius are like those of the first tetrarchy without the lofty epithets. Inscriptions which name the *seniores augusti* are not common, but they most often contain DOMINVS NOSTER and SEN AVG, but do not have the superlatives found on their coinage.⁵⁹⁰ This demonstrates that the emperors who succeeded the tetrarchs in the East continued the standardized image of the first tetrarchy but did not use the lofty image that Diocletian and Maximian created.

In the West, Maxentius and Constantine demonstrate two different responses to the image of the tetrarchs. Maxentius leaned into a traditional image of a Roman emperor, using the extended official titles of the emperor more often than Diocletian and Maximian, as well as the very traditional CENSURA in one example. The titles of Maxentius in inscriptions are more akin to those of Aurelian and Probus than Diocletian and Maximian. In contrast, Constantine continued the innovations of the first tetrarchy. IMP C and IMP both became less common than D N before his names, while P F INV AVG continued to be the most common after his names.⁵⁹¹ His extended official titles appear even more rarely than they do for Diocletian and Maximian, while other epithets appear more frequently. Not only are they more frequent than any of his predecessors, but they are also more grandiose. DOMINVS NOSTER RESTITVTOR HVMANI GENERIS PROPAGATOR IMPERII DITIONISQ[VE] ROMANAE FVNDATOR ETIAM SECVRITATIS AETERNAE CONSTANTINVS FELIX MAXIMVS PIVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS FILIVS DIVI CONSTANTI SEMPER ET VBIQVE VENERABILIS, and TRIVMPHATOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AC DOMITOR VNIVERSARVM FACTIONVM QVI LIBERTATEM TENEBRIS

⁵⁹⁰ Namely *beatissimus* and *felicissimus*. See chapter 2.1 section 4.

⁵⁹¹ D N is also more common than IMP C and IMP for Licinius.

SERVITVTIS OPPRESSAM SVA FELICI VICTORIA NOVA LVCE INLVMINAVIT, amongst many others, are indicative of the continued elevation of the emperor's position.

In contrast to this continuation of patterns present under Diocletian and Maximian are inscriptions that mention Constantine's ancestors. Immediately upon Constantine's elevation, inscriptions advertising his descent from Constantius and Maximian were made in Gaul. These continued in the 310s, when some inscriptions in Italy also proclaim his descent from Claudius Gothicus. Moreover, there are inscriptions which were dedicated to or name his wife, mother, and sister, Fausta, Helena, and Constantina respectively. These always mention the relationship between the woman and Constantine, as well as often mentioning their relationship to Constantine's sons.⁵⁹² The titles and epithets in Constantine's inscriptions indicate that he immediately changed the dynastic image of the first tetrarchy, instead seeking legitimacy in his familial relationship to his father and Maximian, something the tetrarchs did not emphasize. Over time this dynastic image grew to include his female relatives, his sons, and a fictional connection to Claudius Gothicus.

The portraits of the first tetrarchy were built upon that of the soldier emperors who preceded Diocletian. On the coinage, the image of a stern, middle-aged soldier, with typical short hair and cropped beard, wearing draped cuirass, and portrayed as the defender of the empire, continued from the accession of Diocletian in 284 to the coinage reform of 294. During the dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian, and the first year of the tetrarchy, 293-94, the portrait of each emperor is similar but distinct and lifelike, in the tradition of previous emperors in the third century. The same portraits are present on the billon and gold coinage in the period between 284 and 294. After

⁵⁹² For example, Helena is the *genetrix* of Constantine and *avia* of his sons. See appendix 1.2 section 16.3 for a list of all inscriptions that mention these three women.

the coinage reform of 294, the portraits of all four emperors changed, with exaggerated facial features, and all four men often appearing indistinguishable. Most often their shoulders, and therefore clothing, are not visible, and only the head, with an overly large neck, eyes, and cheeks, is depicted. They continue to have the short hair and beard and stern expression of soldier emperors. The four emperors appear most identical on billon coins from eastern mints, while the distinct noses of Maximian and Constantius are sometimes present on billon coins from western mints. These features, and the similarity of the emperors, is less prominent on the silver coinage, and nearly absent from the gold coinage. On gold coins, the portraits of the four emperors are more like those of Diocletian and Maximian from 284 to 294, and all four emperors appear lifelike and distinguishable. This division of portrait style by metal type is present across the empire. Like the titles on their coinage, the tetrarchs divided their image depending on the metal type of their coinage. Furthermore, as is also the case with the titles, the eastern mints were in closer coordination with each other than those in the West.

This same switch from similar but distinct lifelike portraits to indistinguishable portraits with exaggerated features is also present in the statues of the tetrarchs. Individual portraits of Diocletian and Maximian show variety in style and appearance. The white marble reliefs from Nicomedia that depict Diocletian and Maximian show two similar looking emperors, but they are clearly separated by hair colour, height, position, and the nose of Maximian. The senior position of Diocletian is present in his height and higher arm position in their embrace. Their image in this relief is that of soldier emperors: they appear in military cloak and cuirass, stepping down from chariots, with Victories flying over their heads. The two surviving porphyry groups of the four tetrarchs, in Venice and the Vatican, demonstrate a change in artistic style from similar but lifelike portraits to indistinguishable, square, and exaggerated features. The facial features of the four

emperors in both sets are nearly identical, with only the beards of the *augusti* in the Venice group, and wrinkles of the *augusti* in the Vatican group separating them. The hierarchy between emperors is present in their position, height, and arm position, with the more senior in all four sets of two embracing emperors appearing on the left, taller than his partner, and with the higher arm position. Moreover, the material of these groups, purple porphyry, is indicative of the elevated image of the emperor created during the tetrarchy. The reliefs from Nicomedia, in contrast, are painted white marble, indicating that this shift occurred after the establishment of the tetrarchy.⁵⁹³

As was the case with the titles on their coinage and in inscriptions, the portrait of the tetrarchs was largely continued by the second tetrarchy and their successors in the East. On the coinage, the second tetrarchy, Galerius and Licinius as *augusti*, and Maximinus as *caesar* and later as *augustus*, all largely continued both the exaggerated features and strong similarities among emperors on the billon coinage, and more lifelike portraits on the gold coinage. The features on the billon coinage are less exaggerated, but they are still noticeable, and Galerius and Licinius appear indistinguishable at their own mints and at those controlled by Maximinus. At Maximinus' mints, he appears more lifelike, and more youthful with a beard that only covers his jawline. The portraits of Constantine from all these mints resemble the portraits of Maximinus from the same individual mints. Statues of these emperors are scarce. Those identified as Galerius demonstrate a continuation in the image of the tetrarchs, as the exaggerated features, particularly the large eyes, are present on two porphyry busts from the East. All statues identified as Licinius are white marble, and they demonstrate a move away from the stern expression and square features of the tetrarchs.

⁵⁹³ Not every statue could be made of porphyry as it is very difficult to carve.

They depict a lifelike image of a middle-aged soldier emperor, although his eyes are large and exaggerated like those of the tetrarchs.

Maxentius and Constantine both moved away from the standard tetrarchic portrait. Maxentius' portrait, on his coins and on his statues, is more traditional than that of the tetrarchs. The exaggerated features of the tetrarchs are not present, although the square style of head is present in both statues and on coins. Maxentius appears more youthful, with hair that is long enough to be brushed forward in the manner of Trajan and Augustus. This image is consistent with titles present on his coinage and in inscriptions, and depicts Maxentius as a traditional Roman emperor. Constantine also appears more youthful than the tetrarchs on his coinage and statues. He always appears cleanshaven on coins struck at mints he controlled, from the earliest coins from London when he was *caesar*. On his coinage, his head shape is different than that of the tetrarchs, appearing leaner and less square, and his expression is less stern. By the time of his victory over Maxentius in October 312, he is depicted with hair that is long enough to be brushed forward, just like that of Maxentius, Trajan, and Augustus. This same youthful, traditional image is present on his statues. Moreover, many of his statues are colossal, which was common for previous emperors and indicates the position of emperor. There are no known statues of Constantine in porphyry. This demonstrates that he moved away from the ways in which the tetrarchs demonstrated their elevated position towards a more traditional method of doing so. The youthful and traditional appearance of Constantine in his portraits is consistent with the titles present on his coinage.

The ideology of the first tetrarchy can be seen in the image they present to the people of the empire. The centrally controlled media of the tetrarchs, coins and statues, present a more standardized image than that of their predecessors, which is indicative of Diocletian's efforts to centralize imperial control. This can also be seen in the taxation reforms, legal reforms, and

reverses of the tetrarch's coinage. The system of taxation became dependant on regularized indiction cycles; the emperors' rescripts were compiled into legal codes for the first time, allowing the central government to regularize the law; the reverses of their coinage were regularized by metal type to only a handful of oft-repeated reverse types per metal.⁵⁹⁴

With the coinage reform of 294, the variety in title formulae was greatly reduced, particularly regarding titles on their reverses, and the formula found on each metal type was controlled. This control stretched across all fifteen mints, with the seven eastern mints all producing coinage with nearly identical obverses and reverses; in the West there was more variety. With the retirement of Diocletian and Maximian in 305, a clear distinction among *seniores augusti*, *augusti*, *caesares* was consistently depicted via the titles on the obverses of their coinage, demonstrating a standardized hierarchy of power that stabilized succession, and therefore the empire. Their portraits on the coinage also became more standardized after 294, and exaggerated portraits of all four emperors appearing nearly identical can be found at all mints on billon coinage, while more lifelike portraits feature on the silver and gold coinage. These changes were controlled across the empire, projecting a unified, standard image of the imperial college. Like the titles, there is a division between eastern and western issues: the mints in the East portray more exaggerated and less distinguishable emperors than those in the West.

This same exaggerated, nearly identical set of portraits is present on statues. These statues, particularly those in Venice and the Vatican, show the unity of the imperial college by depicting four nearly identical emperors. The standardization of Diocletian's reforms is also reflected in this

⁵⁹⁴ For their taxation reforms, see Lactant. *Mort Pers.* .23.1; Barnes 1981: 3-14; Williams 1985: 115-25; Rees 2004: 38-39; Dolezal 2022: 206-11; Mitchell, Greatrex 2023: 174-5.

For their legal reform, see Corcoran 1996: 293-95; Rees 2004: 32-3; Rees 2007: 120-21; Potter 2014: 291-92; Dolezal 2022: 190-91

For their reverses, see appendix 2. Also see Callu 1960: 19-29; Manders 2020: 211-15.

similarity. The emperor was given a standard appearance, regardless of the individual who held the position. These statues also demonstrate the position of the emperors within their hierarchy with arm position and age, something that is visible on the coinage with the titles given to the emperors. Finally, the purple colour of the porphyry that these statues are carved from elevated the position of the emperors. This elevation is also present in the emperor's titles in inscriptions, where the tetrarchs are given titles more grandiose than any of their predecessors by both the imperial government and citizens of the empire. The elevation of the emperor's position is most clearly reflected in the court ceremonies that Diocletian introduced. The addition of elaborate rituals that physically separated the emperor from his audience, as well as changes to his dress that made him more spectacular, are consistent with the lofty epithets, such as *parentes generis humani*, that are given to the tetrarchs in inscriptions.

Last, the militaristic camaraderie of the emperors' embrace, as well the absence of imperial women, demonstrate that Diocletian attempted to create a dynasty in a different image from those of his third century predecessors. In practice, the dynasty he created was very similar to those of his predecessors: the chosen successors of Diocletian and Maximian married their daughters before they were named *caesares*, creating one imperial family. In contrast, these women never appear in any media. Instead, the four emperors are shown as a harmonious group of four military men. This group was elevated above the regular people of the empire through elaborate ceremony and grandiose titles. It replaced its own members by voluntary abdication and the choosing of future successors based on merit, not birth. A clear hierarchy was created: *caesares*, the emperors in training, *augusti*, the emperors, *seniores augusti*, the retired emperors.

Diocletian and Galerius attempted to maintain this system of succession, but Constantine and Maxentius, seeking traditional dynastic succession, forced Galerius to make changes as a result

of the civil wars that began with the death of Constantius. Constantine, the eventual victor in those civil wars, revealed a devotion to traditional familial dynastic succession from the beginning of his reign, breaking with the ideology of the tetrarchs early on. Beginning with milestones that referred to his deified father in the 300s, and then creating a fictional descent from Claudius Gothicus to remove the tetrarchs from his claim to power in 310, before depicting himself with a portrait and titles similar to those of Augustus and Trajan, and finally minting coins and creating inscriptions of his deified father, grandfather, purported ancestor, wife, mother, sister, and sons, Constantine completely broke with the image of military unity and meritocracy that the tetrarchs projected. The aspect of the tetrarchs' image that he did keep was its elevated position, as seen in his colossal statues, grandiose titles, and maintenance of elaborate ceremony and dress.

The ideology of the first tetrarchy is consistent across media. Diocletian attempted to make the position of *augustus* a meritocracy with a clear path of succession and retirement. This consisted of first marrying into the dynastic family and serving as *caesar*, then becoming *augustus* while the previous *augusti* retired to become *seniores augusti* and choosing two new *caesares* from the army based on merit. This system is reflected in the titles on their coinage, where they reduced the variation in titles and title formulae and enforced uniformity across mints and metals. Their portraits on these coins reflect the same ideas, with all four emperors appearing nearly identical, removing individuality from the position of emperor. In turn, this lack of individuality is visible in their statues, which depict the four emperors as harmonious comrades in arms in purple porphyry, which elevates their position. This elevation of the position of emperor is also present in the new grandiose titles that are given to the emperors in inscriptions. In combination with the elaborate ceremonies and dress introduced by Diocletian, these changes made the image of the emperor fundamentally different than it was at the beginning of the third century. The elevated position and

appearance of the emperor continued, but meritocracy was abandoned in favour of familial succession.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁵ Both Ammianus and Vegetius indicate that at least some people continued to view meritocratic division of power as ideal in the fourth century. See Amm. Marc. 26.4.1; Veg. *Mil.* 1.3, 2.21.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient authors taken from *OCD* and *SEC*.

<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols. A. Boeckh et al (edd.). Berlin, 1828-54.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , 17 vols. T. Mommsen et al (edd). Berlin, Paris, 1853 -.
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum vol. IV</i> . C. Muller (ed.). Paris, 1885.
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte</i>
<i>NF</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th ed.</i> S. Horn-Blower and A. Spawforth (eds), E. Eidinow (assistant ed.). Oxford, 2012.
<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , 10 vols. H. Mattingly – E. A. Sydenham et al. London, 1923 –.
<i>SEC</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , vol. 66. A. Chaniotis et al. (eds), Leiden, Boston, 2021.

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Appendix 1.1 – *RIC* Numbers for Common Title Formulae

Section 1: common title formulae on the coinage of Aurelian

Obverse titles

AVRELIANVS P AVG: on billon (no. 299).

AVRELIANVS AVG: on gold (nos 375, 380); on billon (examples include nos 66, 135, 159, 261).

IMP AVRELIANVS P F AVG: on billon (nos 77, 78, 262, 297).

IMP [Aurelianus] P AVG: on billon (examples include nos 253, 281, 298).

IMP AVRELIANVS AVG: on gold (examples include nos 94, 156, 379); on billon (examples include nos 3, 30, 101, 193, 265, 324, 385, 391).

IMP C [Aurelianus] PF AVG: on gold (nos 8, 15, 158, 160, 163); on billon (examples include nos 31, 130, 226, 280, 291).

IMP C [Aurelianus] P AVG: on billon (nos 263, 292, 296, 309).

IMP CAES/C [Aurelianus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 1, 13, 91, 157, 323, 371); on billon (examples include nos 2, 32, 150-51 191, 259, 327, 381, 389, 400).

Reverse titles

PM TR P COS P P: on gold (nos 16, 158-59, 185-86); PM TR P COS: on gold (no. 157); PM TR P P P COS: on billon (no. 324); PM TR P P: on billon (no. 325).

RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR ORBIS: on billon (nos 53, 139, 287-306, 347-49, 367-69, 386, 389, 399, 403).

PACATOR ORBIS: on billon (nos 4, 6-7).

RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR ORIENTIS: on gold (no. 375-76); on billon (nos 140-41, 233-34, 350-51, 404).

PACATOR ORIENTIS: on billon (no. 321).

Section 2: common title formulae on the coinage of Tacitus

Obverse titles

CL TACITVS P F AVG: on billon (no. 17).

CL TACITVS P AVG: on billon (no. 85).

IMP CL TACITVS P F AVG: on gold (no. 76); on billon (nos 15, 31, 40).

IMP CL TACITVS AVG: on gold (nos 1, 5, 9, 10); on billon (examples include nos 24, 100, 137).

IMP C M CL TACITVS P F AVG: on gold (nos 2, 72, 177); on billon (examples include nos 16, 104, 171 191).

IMP C [Tacitus] P AVG: on gold (nos 74, 111, 174, 176); on billon (examples include nos 122, 144, 180 192).

IMP C [Tacitus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 3, 70, 110, 175 209); on billon (examples include nos 13, 82, 124, 182 190 206, 212-13).

IMP C M CL TACITVS FE AVG: on gold (no. 119).

Section 3: common title formulae on the coinage of Florian

Obverse titles

IMP [Florianus] AVG: on billon (examples include nos 59, 116).

IMP M ANN FLORIANVS P AVG: on billon (no. 91).

IMP C [Florianus] PF AVG: on billon (examples include nos 2, 28).

IMP C [Florianus] P AVG: on billon (examples include nos 57, 98, 110).

IMP C [Florianus] AVG: on gold (nos 17, 16 19, 22, 114-115); on billon (examples include nos 1, 26, 92, 106, 111).

Section 4: common title formulae on the coinage of Probus***Obverse titles***

PROBVS P F AVG: on billon (nos 158, 168, 630, 637).

PROBVS P AVG: on gold (no. 148); on billon (nos 188, 265-6, 278, 285).

[Probus] AVG: on gold (no. 147); on billon (examples include nos 169, 267, 668).

IMP PROBVS P/PIVS F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 133, 584); on billon (examples include nos 33, 155, 335, 619, 852).

IMP PROBVS AVG: on gold (examples include nos 134, 580, 892); on billon (examples include nos 67, 149, 608).

IMP C [Probus] P/PIVS F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 2, 132, 306, 586, 832, 900); on billon (examples include nos 15, 160, 321, 606, 838, 903, 920, 925, 927).

IMP C [Probus] P/PIVS AVG: on gold (examples include nos 135, 309, 585); on billon (examples include nos 92, 167, 538, 648, 839).

IMP C [Probus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 1, 140, 307, 582, 824, 890, 914, 926); on billon (examples include nos 34, 146, 335, 627, 846, 905, 921, 928).

VIRTVS PROBVS AVG: on gold (nos 308, 579, 899), and on billon (examples include nos 18, 159, 322, 620, 904).

VIRTVS PROBI INVICTI AVG (examples include nos 353, 368).

IMP PROBVS INV AVG (examples include nos 622-3).

IMP C [Probus] INV/INVICTVS AVG: on gold (nos 596, 823, 825); on billon (examples include nos 246, 678, 683, 759, 848).

IMP C [Probus] INVICT/INVICTVS P AVG (nos 677, 847); IMP C M AVR PROBVS P F INVICT AVG (nos 840, 858, 867, 881), all billon.

For legends with *bonus*, see: BONO IMP C PROBO P F INVICT AVG (no. 868); BONO IMP C PROBO AVG (no. 850); BONO IMP PROBO AVG (no. 850), all billon.

For legends with *perpetuus*, see: PERPETVO IMP C M AVR PROBO AVG (no. 849); PERPETVO IMP C PROBO AVG (nos 842, 869, 884); PERPETVO IMP C PROBO INVICT AVG (no. 859); PERPETVO IMP PROBO P AVG (no. 843); PERPETVO IMP PROBO AVG (no. 874), all billon.

Reverse titles

TRI POT COS: on gold (no. 1); PM TR P COS: on gold (nos 579); on billon (no. 247, 614, 835); PM TR P COS P P: on gold (nos 132, 914); on billon (nos 244-46, 248-51, 260, 606-13, 615-16).

PACATOR ORBIS: on billon (nos 136, 591).

RESTIT ILLYRICI: on billon (no. 730).

RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR ORBIS: on billon (nos 731-6, 851-9, 910, 925).

VICTORIA GOTHICA: on gold (no. 10); VICTORIA GER(M): on gold (nos 141-42); on billon (nos 217-23, 254-9, 272-278, 299, 300); VICTOR GER/GERM: on billon (nos 68-69, 425); VICTORIOSO SEMPER: on gold (nos 143-4); on billon (no. 224).

Section 5: common title formulae on the coinage of Carus***Obverse titles***

IMP [Carus] P F AVG: on gold: (nos 1, 93); on billon (examples include nos 36, 69).

IMP CARVS P AVG: on billon (no. 57).

IMP [Carus] AVG: on billon (nos 52, 58).

IMP C [Carus] P F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 2, 31, 62, 92, 115, 122); on billon (examples include nos 6, 35, 67, 101, 118, 123, 128).

IMP C M AVR CARVS P AVG: on gold (no. 130); on billon (no. 107).

IMP C/CAESAR [Carus] AVG: on gold (nos 114, 131-32); on billon: (examples include nos 8, 51, 86, 104).

Section 6.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Carinus as *caesar****Obverse titles***

[Carinus] NOB CAES: on gold (examples include nos 147, 153, 188 199); on billon (examples include nos 149, 155, 178 196 202).

M AVR CARINVS P F NOB CAES: on gold (no. 193); on billon (no. 295).

[Carinus] CAES: on billon (nos 157, 160, 165, 169, 172).

IMP M AVR CARINVS NOB C: on gold (no. 192); on billon (no. 207).

IMP CAESAR M AVR CARINVS: on gold (nos 200, 210).

IMP C M AVR CARINVS NOB C: on gold (nos 203-05); on billon (nos 206 208-9).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT/IVVENTVTI: on billon (nos 147, 150-1, 158-61, 174, 176-86 197-9).

Section 6.2: common title formulae on the coinage of Carinus as *augustus****Obverse titles***

CARINVS AVG: on billon (no. 241).

IMP [Carinus] P F AVG: on gold (nos 226, 228, 293, 311); on billon (examples include nos 213, 236, 299, 317, 322, 328).

IMP CARINVS P AVG: on gold (no. 211); on billon (nos 274, 278).

IMP [Carinus] AVG: on billon (examples include nos 221, 240, 296, 300, 306).

IMP C [Carinus] P F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 227, 307, 319); on billon (examples include nos 237, 297, 314, 323, 325, 329).

IMP C M AVR CARINVS P AVG: on billon (nos 245, 249).

IMP C M AVR CARINVS AVG: on gold (nos 231, 234); on billon (examples include nos 212, 238).

Section 7.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Numerian as *caesar****Obverse titles***

[Numerianus] NOB CAES: on gold (examples include nos 352, 369, 371, 373); on billon (examples include nos 353, 360, 366, 370, 372, 376, 380).

M AVR NUMERIANVS C/CAESAR: on billon (examples include nos 354, 360).

IMP C M AVR NVMERIANVS NOB C: on gold (nos 373-75); on billon (nos 376, 378, 380).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT/IVVENTVTI: on billon (nos 352, 356-57, 360-69).

Section 7.2: common title formulae on the coinage of Numerian as *augustus****Obverse titles***

M AVR NVMERIANVS AVG (no. 445).

IMP NVMERIANVS P F AVG: on gold (nos 404, 442, 459); on billon (nos 415, 444, 468).

IMP NVMERIANVS AVG: on gold (nos 401, 403, 452, 456); on billon (nos 385, 389, 410).

IMP C [Numerianus] AVG: on gold (no. 381); on billon (examples include nos 381, 421).

Section 8.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Diocletian, 284-93***Obverse titles***

DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG: on gold (nos 142a, 146); on billon (examples include nos 79 205).
 DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on billon (nos 57, 71-72, 84, 111).
 DIOCLETIANVS AVGVSTVS: on gold (examples include nos 129, 285, 307); on billon (no. 29).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG: on gold (nos 152, 154); billon (examples include nos 6, 160, 235).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG: on billon (examples include nos 4, 7).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on gold (nos 130, 151, 153); billon (examples include nos 5, 156).
 IMP C [Diocletianus] P F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 1, 131, 246, 290, 314); billon (examples include nos 19, 186, 227, 254, 284, 324, 327).
 IMP C [Diocletianus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 132, 251, 294); on billon (examples include nos 37, 155, 204, 255, 306, 333).
 IMP C [Diocletianus] P AVG: on gold (nos 135, 138); billon (examples include nos 39, 253).

Reverse titles

CONSVL IIII/V PP PROCOS: on gold (nos 285-86, 307-09).
 PM TRP PP: on gold (no. 289); PM TRP VIII COS IIII PP: on billon (nos 4-5); COS III: on gold (nos 287, 310); on billon (no. 129); COS IIII: on gold (nos 288, 311).

Section 8.2: common title formulae on coinage of Diocletian, 293-94***Obverse titles***

DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG: on billon (nos 9, 13, 16, 59, 60-1, 68, 70, 78, 108, 117, 119, 125 205).
 DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on billon (nos 71-2, 121, 126).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG: on billon (nos 14, 17, 33, 73, 75, 109).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on billon (nos 12, 15, 34, 69, 74, 76, 98, 110-11, 114-16, 118, 122, 124, 130, 175-79, 238).
 IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG: on billon (nos 113, 233, 322-23).

Section 8.3: common title formulae on the coinage of Diocletian, 294-305***Obverse titles***

[Diocletianus] P F AVG: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 6, 16), Ticinum (nos 2, 6), Aquilea (2a, 7a, 10, 14a), Rome (nos 5a, 7a), Carthage (nos 1, 6), Thessalonica (nos 3, 4), and Nicomedia (nos 5a, 10); on silver – Trier (no. 135), Siscia (no. 64a); on billon – Trier (nos 609, 612).
 DIOCLETIANVS P AVG: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 7a, 17), and Siscia (nos 5, 7); on silver – Trier (no. 136); on billon – Trier (no. 563).
 DIOCLETIANVS AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 36a, 54), Ticinum (no. 11a), Aquilea (no. 12), Rome (no. 1), Siscia (examples include nos 4, 16), Nicomedia (nos 11, 13, 15), Cyzicus (no. 2), Antioch (examples include nos 5, 6), Alexandria (no. 4); on silver - Trier (examples include nos 100, 102a), Ticinum (examples include nos 12a, 14a), Aquilea (no. 16a), Rome (examples include nos 10a, 14a), Carthage (nos 10, 11a, 13a, 15a), Siscia (examples include 32a, 33a), Serdica (no. 1a), Thessalonica (examples include nos 6, 11a), Heraclea (nos 1, 6, 10a), Nicomedia (nos 19a, 22a, 35a), Cyzicus (no. 5a), Antioch (examples include nos 31-32), and Alexandria (nos 7a, 8, 9a, 10a); on billon - Trier (nos 565, 568, 570), Ticinum (no. 27a), and Rome (no. 48).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG: on billon - London (nos 10, 11, 23a, 24), Trier (examples include nos, 141a, 151a), Lyons (nos 64, 91, 92a, 94a), Aquilea (examples include nos 23a, 27a), Rome (nos 65a, 83, 84, 91a), Carthage (examples include nos 19a, 21a), and Siscia (examples include nos 108a, 127a).
 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG: on billon - London (nos 12, 26a), Trier (examples include nos 142a, 152a), Lyons (nos 15, 98a, 99, 100a, 101a, 104a).

IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on billon - London (nos 13, 28a, 29a), Trier (examples include nos 154a, 155a), Lyons (examples include nos 72, 108a), and Rome (nos 85a, 86).

IMP C C/G VAL DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Nicomedia (no. 1), and Alexandria (no. 1); Antioch (no. 1); on billon – Ticinum (examples include nos 25a, 36a), Rome (examples include nos 47a), Siscia (74a, 76a, 83a, 91a), Serdica (no. 3a), Thessalonica (nos 19a, 21a, 23a, 25a), Heraclea (examples include nos 12a, 13), Nicomedia (nos 27a, 29a), Cyzicus (nos 8a, 10a, 12a), Antioch (nos 60a, 62a) and Alexandria (no. 47).

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG: on billon - London (nos 1a, 6a, 7), Trier (nos 137a, 138, 264-65, 511), Lyons (examples include nos 2a, 3a), Ticinum (examples include nos 23a, 29a), Aquilea (nos 18a, 22a), Rome (examples include 45a, 64a), Carthage (no.17a), Siscia (nos 79a, 85a, 95a, 100a, 104a, 107a), Antioch (examples include nos 44a, 46a), and Alexandria (examples include nos 14a, 16a).

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P AVG: on billon - Trier (examples include nos 139a, 266), Lyons (examples include nos 23a, 29a), and Siscia (no. 86).

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS AVG: on billon - London (nos 10, 11, 23a, 24), Trier (examples include nos, 141a, 151a), Lyons (nos 64, 91, 92a, 94a), Aquilea (examples include nos 23a, 27a), Rome (nos 65a, 83, 84, 91a), Carthage (examples include nos 19a, 21a), and Siscia (examples include nos 108a, 127a).

DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG COS VIII: on gold (Trier no. 27).

Reverse titles

CONSVL V/VI/VII/VIII/VIII P P PROCOS: on gold - Siscia (nos 22, 24), and Antioch (nos 1, 5, 6, 13 20-22).

VICTORIA [SARM/A/AT/ATI/ATIC/ATICA]: on silver - Trier (nos 100, 104a, 108, 114a, 119a), Ticinum (nos 12a, 16a), Rome (nos 14a, 16 19a, 23, 31a, 37a), Siscia (nos 34a, 36, 37a, 39, 40), Heraclea (nos 2, 6, 10a), Nicomedia (nos 19a, 22a, 25a), Cyzicus (no. 5a), Antioch (no. 32), and Alexandria (no. 8).

Section 8.4: common title formulae on the coinage of Diocletian, retired, 305-13

Obverse titles

D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISS/BAEATISSIMO/BEATISSIMO SEN AVG: on billon - London (no. 76a), Trier (nos 671, 673a, 674), Lyons (no. 200a), Ticinum (no. 56a, 61a, 65a), Aquilea (no. 63a), Rome (nos 116a, 118a, 130a), Carthage (no. 41a), Serdica (no. 14a), Heraclea (no. 27a), Cyzicus (nos 22a, 28a, 32a), Antioch (examples include nos 72a, 76a), and Alexandria (examples include nos 125-26).

D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISS/FELICISSIMO SEN AVG: on billon - London (no. 77a), Trier (nos 676a, 677a), Ticinum (no. 57a, 62a, 65a), Aquilea (no. 64a), Rome (nos 117a, 119a, 131a), Carthage (no. 42a), Siscia (nos 159, 161), Serdica (no. 15a), Heraclea (no. 28a), Cyzicus (nos 23a, 29a, 33a), Antioch (examples include nos 73a, 77a), and Alexandria (no. 58a).

D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATIS/BEATISS: on billon - Alexandria (nos 80, 90a, 92a, 109).

D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIM/FELICISSI/FELICISS/FELICISS/FELICIS: on billon - Alexandria (nos 87a, 89a, 91a, 93a, 94).

D N DIOCLETIANO AETER AVG: on billon - Lyons (nos 258, 260).

D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG: on billon - London (nos 81, 98), Trier (nos 699, 712, 713, 736), and Lyons (nos 216, 225).

DIOCLETAINO SEN AVG: on billon - Trier (no. 681a).

Section 9.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Maximian 285-93

Obverse titles

MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold (no. 608), and billon (no. 400).

MAXIMIANVS AVGVSTVS: on gold (examples include nos 488, 596, 609); on billon (no. 524).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold (nos 501-03); on billon (examples include nos 351, 521, 555).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon (nos 352, 357, 410, 421).

IMP [Maximianus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 341, 496, 538, 618); on billon (examples include nos 345, 507, 547).

IMP C [Maximianus] P F AVG: on gold (examples include nos 339, 495, 540, 574, 617); on billon (examples include nos 356, 544, 594-95, 623-24).

IMP C [Maximianus] P AVG: on gold (no. 489); on billon (examples include nos 368, 581).

IMP C [Maximianus] AVG: on gold (examples include nos 343, 494, 541, 604); on billon (examples include nos 403, 565, 576, 606).

Reverse titles

CONSVL PP PROCOS (no 608); CONSVL III PP PROCOS (nos 596-97, 609-10); CONSVL IIII PP PROCOS (no. 61), all gold.

PM TRP PP: on gold (nos 600, 614); PM TRP VIII COS IIII PP: on billon (nos 344-45); COS II: on gold (no. 488, 598, 612); COS III: on gold (no. 339, 599, 613).

Section 9.2: common title formulae on coinage of Maximian between 293-94

Obverse titles

MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on billon (nos 346, 349-50, 395, 408, 414-15, 423, 426, 431, 449, 468, 469, 476, 478, 481-82, 485, 567, 569).

MAXIMIANVS AVG: on billon (nos 471, 474, 486-87).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on billon - (nos 448, 511, 513-14, 566, 568).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon (nos 344, 354, 385, 406, 412, 424, 452, 466, 470, 473, 477, 479, 483).

IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG: on billon (nos 345, 355, 386, 399, 407, 416, 422, 425, 428, 447, 453, 467, 472, 475, 480, 484).

Section 9.3: common title formulae on the coinage of Maximian, 294-305

Obverse titles

[Maximianus] P F AVG: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 9, 11), Ticinum (no. 8), Aquilea (examples include nos 2b, 3), Rome (nos 2, 5b, 7b), Carthage (nos 4, 8), Siscia (no. 64b), Thessalonica (no. 2), Nicomedia (nos 2, 3); on silver - Trier (no. 131), Rome (nos 12 20, 28, 41), Siscia (no. 64b).

MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 7a, 10), and Siscia (no. 1).

MAXIMIANVS AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 4, 36b), Ticinum (no. 11b), Aquilea (no. 13), Rome (no. 3), Siscia (examples include nos 2, 12a), Nicomedia (nos 5b, 8, 14, 16), Cyzicus (no. 3), Antioch (examples include nos 3, 4), and Alexandria (no. 3); on silver - Trier (examples include nos 102b, 104b), Ticinum (examples include nos 12b, 14b), Aquilea (no. 16b), Rome (examples include nos 10b, 14b), Carthage (nos 11b, 13b, 15b), Siscia (examples include nos 32b, 33b), Serdica (no. 1b), Thessalonica (examples include 10b, 13b), Heraclea (nos 3, 7, 10b), Nicomedia (nos 19b, 22b, 25b), Cyzicus (no. 5b), Antioch (nos 35b, 37b, 39b, 42b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 7b, 9b, 10b); on billon - Trier (nos 564, 566), Ticinum (no. 27b), Rome (no. 62), and Siscia (no. 94).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on billon - London (nos 2, 9 19, 23b, 25), Trier (examples include 141b, 151b), Lyons (examples include nos 92b, 93), Aquilea (examples include nos 23b, 26b), Rome (nos 65b, 82, 91b), Carthage (examples include nos 19b, 21b), and Siscia (examples include nos 87, 96b).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon - London (nos 3a, 26b, 27), Trier (examples include nos 142b, 153), Lyons (examples include nos 98b, 99).

IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG: on silver – Trier (nos 129-30); on billon - London (nos 28b, 29b), Trier (examples include nos 143, 154b), Lyons (examples include nos 36, 50), Ticinum (no. 34) and Rome (no. 85b).

IMP C M A/AVR MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Ticinum (no. 1), and Siscia (no. 11); on billon - Ticinum (examples include 22a, 25a), Rome (examples include nos 44a, 47b), Siscia (nos 73b, 76b, 83b, 91b), Serdica (no. 3b), Thessalonica (nos 19b, 21b, 23b, 25b), Heraclea (examples include nos 12b, 14), Nicomedia (nos 27b, 29b), Cyzicus (nos 9b, 10b, 12b), Antioch (examples include nos 44b, 46) and Alexandria (examples include nos 14b, 16b).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on billon - London (nos 1b, 6b, 8, 17), Trier (nos 137b, 149, 163-64, 572), Lyons (examples include nos 2b, 3b), Ticinum (examples include nos 23b, 29b), Aquilea (nos 18b 20, 22b), Rome (examples include 45b, 64b) Carthage (nos 17b, 37b), and Siscia (nos 79b, 85b, 95b, 100b, 104b, 107b).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon - London (no. 18), Trier (nos 139b, 150, 165), Lyons (examples include nos 23b, 29b), and (Siscia, no. 77).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG: on billon - Trier (no. 140), Lyons (examples include nos 31b, 32b), and Siscia (no. 80).

MAXIMIANVS PIVS F AVG COS VII: on gold - Trier no. 28; IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG COS VII: on gold – Trier (no. 29); IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG COS VII: on gold - Trier (no. 30).

Reverse titles

CONSVL IIII/V/VI/VII/VIII P P PRC/PRCOS/PROCOS: on gold – Siscia (nos 21-23, 29), and Antioch (nos 3-4, 11-12, 17-19, 27, 30).

VICTORIA [SARM/A/AT/ATI/ATIC/ATICA]: on silver - Trier (nos 104b, 114b, 119b), Ticinum (nos 12b, 16b), Rome (nos 14b, 17 19b, 31b, 37b), Siscia (nos 34b, 37b), Heraclea (nos 3, 7, 10b), Nicomedia (nos 19b, 22b, 25b), and Cyzicus (no. 5b).

Section 9.4: common title formulae on the coinage of Maximian, 305-10

Obverse titles

As senior augustus:

D N MAXIMIANO BAEATISS/BAEATISSIMO/BEATISSIMO SEN AVG: on billon - London (no. 76b), Trier (nos 672, 673b, 675), Lyons (no. 200b), Ticinum (nos 56b, 61b, 65b), Aquilea (no. 63b), Rome, (nos 116b, 118b, 130b), Carthage (no. 41b), Siscia (nos 158, 160), Serdica (no. 14b), Heraclea (no. 27b), Cyzicus (nos 22b, 28b, 32b), Antioch (no. 72b, 76b), and Alexandria (no. 57b).

D N MAXIMIANO FELICISS/FELICISSIMO SEN AVG: on billon - London (no. 77b), Trier (nos 676b, 677b), Lyons (no. 201), Ticinum (nos 57b, 62b, 66b), Aquilea (no. 64b), Rome (nos 117b, 119b, 131b), Carthage (no. 42b), Serdica (no. 15b), Heraclea (no. 28b), Cyzicus (nos 23b, 39b, 33b), Antioch (nos 73b, 77b), and Alexandria (no. 58b).

D N MAXIMIANO BAEATISSIM/BAEATISSI/BAEATISS/BAEATIS: on billon – Alexandria (nos 86, 88, 90b, 92b).

D N MAXIMIANO FELICISSIM/FELICISSI/FELICISS/FELICIS: on billon - Alexandria (nos 87b, 89b, 91b, 93b)

D N MAXIMIANO INV SEN AVG: on billon - Aquilea (no. 105).

MAXIMIANVS SEN P F AVG: on gold - Rome (nos 134, 136, 145); on silver - Rome (nos 134-36).

M AVR MAXIMIANVS SEN AVG: on billon - Carthage (no. 52).

D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG: on billon - London (examples include nos 80, 85), Trier (examples include nos 696-97), and Lyons (examples include nos 206-07).

MAXIMIANO SEN AVG: on billon - Trier (no. 681b).

Ambiguous position:

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F S AVG: on silver - Trier (no. 761).

IMP MAXIMIANVS SEN AVG: on gold - Carthage (no. 45); on billon - Carthage (nos 56, 59).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F SEN AVG: on billon - Alexandria (no. 102).

As augustus:

MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Rome (nos 146, 174, 176), Carthage (no. 46); on silver - Trier (no. 762); on billon - Trier (no. 788).

MAXIMIANVS AVG: on silver - Aquilea (no. 75), and Rome (no. 193); on billon - Trier (nos 747, 752)

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Rome (no. 175); on silver - Rome (no. 192); on billon - Trier (nos 738, 751, 772b, 793), and Carthage (no. 50).

IMP C [Maximianus] P F AVG: on gold - Rome (no. 170); on billon - Trier (nos 723, 766-69), Lyons (nos 237, 246), Ticinum (nos 84b, 86, 92), Aquilea (nos 118, 121b), and Rome (nos 165 194b 198b).

Section 10.1: common title formulae on coinage of Constantius as *caesar*, 293-94

Obverse titles

[Constantius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR: on billon (examples include nos 627, 649, 658, 669, 671-73).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT/IVVENTVTI: on billon (nos 658-68a).

Section 10.2: common title formulae on the coinage of Constantius as *caesar*, 294-305

Obverse titles

CONSTANTIVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES/CAESAR: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 3, 5), Ticinum (no. 9), Carthage (no. 5), Siscia (nos 3, 18a, 26), Thessalonica (no. 1a), Nicomedia (nos 4, 9), Cyzicus (no. 1), and Antioch (nos 8-9); on silver - Trier (examples include nos 101, 103a), Siscia (examples include nos 54a, 57a), Serdica (no. 2a), and Thessalonica (nos 7, 12a, 14a, 16a); on billon - London (nos 4a, 14a, 36a, 37a), Trier (examples include nos 146a 195), Lyons (examples include nos 4a, 7), Ticinum (nos 9, 30a, 40a, 41), Aquilea (nos 19a, 21), Rome (46a, 51-52, 54), Carthage (nos 18a 20a, 35a), and Siscia (nos 81a, 82a, 89a, 90a).

FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES: on billon - Trier (examples include nos 235, 257), Serdica (no. 4a), Thessalonica (examples include 20a, 22a), Heraclea (examples include 15, 18a), Nicomedia (examples include 28a, 30a), Cyzicus (examples include 7a, 9a), Antioch (examples include 45a, 47a), and Alexandria (examples include 15a, 21a).

[Constantius] CAES/CAESAR: on gold - Ticinum (no.4), Aquilea (no 1, 5a, 8), Rome (nos 6a, 8a), Carthage (no. 2a), Siscia (no. 10), and Antioch (no. 14); on silver - Ticinum (examples include nos 13a, 15a), Aquilea (no. 17a), Rome (examples include nos 21, 33), Carthage (nos 12a, 14a, 16a), Siscia (examples include nos 35a, 38a), Heraclea (nos 1, 5, 9), Nicomedia (nos 18, 21, 24), Cyzicus (no. 4), Antioch (examples include 33a, 34a), and Alexandria (no. 11-12, 13a); on billon - Ticinum no. 28a, and Rome nos 49a, 50.

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI [IVVENT/VT/I/S]: on gold - Siscia (nos 10, 18a); on billon - Rome (nos 50-53a, 54, 56, 57a, 58a, 60a, 61a).

VICTORIA [SARM/A/T/I/C/A]: on silver - Trier (examples include nos 101, 103a), Ticinum (nos 13a, 17a), Rome (examples include nos 15, 18), Siscia (nos 35a, 38a, 42), and Antioch (no. 33a).

Section 10.3: common title formulae on the coinage of Constantius as *augustus*, 305-06

Obverse titles

CONSTANTIVS P F AVG: on gold - Trier (nos 618a, 620a, 628a, 634a), Aquilea (nos 41a, 43, 46a, 48a, 51a), Rome (no. 114), and Siscia (no. 148).

CONSTANTIVS AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold - Nicomedia (nos 32, 37), Antioch (no. 65a); on silver - Serdica (no. 11a); on billon - Trier (nos 682a, 684), Rome (no. 128), and Siscia (no. 169a).

IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG: on gold - Trier (no. 617), Rome (no. 115), and Serdica (nos 5a, 6a, 7a); on billon - London (examples include nos 48, 51), Trier (nos 642a, 643a, 652a, 653a), Aquilea (examples include nos 55a, 56), Rome (nos 121, 126), Carthage (no. 39a), and Siscia (nos 156, 163a, 168, 176a, 179a).

IMP C FL VAL CONSTANTIVS P F AVG: on billon - Serdica (no. 12a), Heraclea (no. 24a), Nicomedia (no. 39a), and Cyzicus (no. 21a), and Antioch (nos 70a, 74a).

IMP C CONSTANTIVS P F AVG: on billon - Ticinum (nos 55a, 59a), Rome (nos 120a, 132a), Siscia (nos 162, 164, 167), and Alexandria (nos 53, 59b).

IMP C CONSTANTVS P AVG: on billon - London (no. 53), Trier (nos 644a, 645a, 655a, 656).

IMP C CONSTANTVS AVG: on billon - London (no. 54), Trier (nos 646, 657a, 658a), Lyons (nos 186a, 187a).

Section 11.1: common title formulae on coinage of Galerius as *caesar*, 293-94***Obverse titles***

[Galerius] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR: on billon (examples include nos 675, 693, 704, 713, 716-17, 719).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENT/IVVENTVT, IVVENTVTI: on billon (nos 704-12, 715).

Section 11.2: common title formulae on the coinage of Galerius as *caesar*, 294-305***Obverse titles***

MAXIMIANVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES/CAESAR: on gold - Trier (nos 38, 50, 53, 62), Ticinum (nos 3, 10), Rome (no. 9), Siscia (nos 8-9), Nicomedia (no. 7), Thessalonica (no. 1b), Nicomedia (nos 6, 12), and Antioch (nos 2, 9, 10); on silver - Trier (examples include nos 103b, 105b), Siscia (examples include 54b, 57b), Serdica (no. 2b), and Thessalonica (nos 8, 9, 12b, 14b, 16b, 18); on billon - London (nos 4b, 5, 14b, 15, 33), Trier (examples include nos 146b, 375), Lyons (examples include nos 4b 19b), Ticinum (nos 24b, 26b, 39b, 40b), Aquileia (nos 19b, 24b), Rome (nos 46b, 53b, 60b, 61b), Carthage (nos 18 20b, 35b, 36), and Siscia (nos 75b, 81b, 82b, 93).

GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES: on billon - Trier (examples include nos 551, 588), Lyons (no. 12), Serdica (no. 4b), Thessalonica (examples include nos 20b, 22b), Heraclea (examples include nos 16, 18b), Nicomedia (examples include nos 28b, 30b), Cyzicus (examples include nos 7b, 9b), Antioch (examples include nos 45b, 47b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 15b, 17b).

[Galerius] CAES/CAESAR: on gold - Ticinum (no. 5), Aquileia (nos 5b, 6, 9), Rome (nos 6b, 8b), Carthage (no. 2b, 7), Nicomedia (no. 17), Antioch (nos 23b, 26), and Alexandria (no. 2); on silver - Ticinum (examples include nos 13b, 15b), Aquileia (nos 5b, 17b), Rome (examples include nos 11b, 22b), Carthage (nos 12b, 14b, 16b), Siscia (examples include nos 35b, 38b), Heraclea (nos 4, 8, 11), Nicomedia (nos 20, 23, 26), Cyzicus (no. 6), Antioch (examples include 33b, 34b), and Alexandria (no. 13b); on billon - Lyons nos (9, 10), Ticinum (no. 28b), and Rome (no. 51).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI [IVVENT/VT/I/S]: on gold - Siscia (nos.8-9, 18b); on billon - Rome (nos 53b, 55, 57b, 60b, 61A).

VICTORIA [SARM/A/T/I/C/A]: on silver - Trier (nos 105b, 106b, 115b, 120b), Ticinum (nos 13b, 17b), Rome (nos 22b, 26, 36b, 38b), Siscia (nos 35b, 38b, 58), Thessalonica (no. 10), and Antioch (no. 33b).

Section 11.3: common title formulae on the coinage of Galerius as *augustus*, 305-06***Obverse titles***

MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Trier (nos 618b, 624, 625a, 634b), Aquileia (nos 41b, 46b, 49, 51b), and Rome (no. 113); on silver - Trier (nos 635, 637), and Ticinum (no. 52).

MAXIMIANVS AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold - Siscia (no. 149), Nicomedia (nos 33, 38), and Antioch (nos 65b, 66); on silver - Serdica (no. 11b); on billon - Trier (no. 682b), and Siscia (no. 169b).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Serdica (nos 5b, 6b, 7b); on billon - London (nos 52b, 78, 84, 86), Trier (examples include nos 642b, 643b), Lyons (examples include nos 182-83), Aquileia (examples include nos 55b, 57b), Carthage (no. 39b), and Siscia (examples include nos 156b, 163b).

IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon - Trier (nos 644b, 645b, 655b), and Lyons (no. 185).

IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG: on billon - Trier (no. 657b), and Lyons (nos 186b, 188).

IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on billon - Serdica (no. 12b), Heraclea (no. 24b), Cyzicus (no. 21b), Nicomedia (no. 39b), and Antioch (nos 70b, 74b).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG: on gold - Alexandria (no. 49); on billon - London (nos 40a, 41, 42-44), Ticinum (nos 55b, 59b), Rome (nos 120, 132b), Siscia (no. 178a), and Alexandria (nos 54-55, 59b).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG: on billon - London (no. 45).

Section 11.3: mints controlled by Galerius as *augustus*, July 306 – spring 311 (Siscia up to 308, Serdica up to 308, Thessalonica from 308, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus)

Obverse titles

Augusti:

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Serdica (nos 23, 35, 39, 44), Thessalonica (examples include nos 30a, 30b), Cyzicus (examples include nos 42, 44).
 [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (nos 153-55), Serdica (no. 30), Thessalonica (no. 27), Nicomedia (nos 62-63); on billon – Thessalonica (no. 41).
 [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold – Serdica (no. 29), Nicomedia (nos 21, 44); on silver – Serdica (no. 21); on billon – Thessalonica (no. 42).
 IMP [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Serdica (nos 16-18b); on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 175, 176b).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Maximinus/Constantine] P F INV AVG: on billon – Heraclea (examples include nos 49a, 49b).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Serdica (nos 24, 38), Heraclea (examples include nos 30, 33), Nicomedia (examples include nos 48, 54b), Cyzicus (examples include nos 25a, 25b).
 IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Siscia (nos 178a, 178b).

Caesares:

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB C/CAES: on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 173b, 173c), Serdica (examples include nos 25-26), Thessalonica (nos 31a, 31b, 38a, 38b), Heraclea (examples include nos 31-32), Nicomedia (examples include nos 40, 49b), Cyzicus (examples include nos 24a, 24b).
 [Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB C/CAES: on gold – Siscia (nos 151-52), Serdica (nos 19-20, 31); on silver – Serdica (no. 22); on billon – Siscia (nos 174b, 185b).
 [Maximinus/Constantinus] CAESAR: on gold – Nicomedia (nos 42-43, 45-46).
 [Maximinus/Constantinus] FIL AVGG: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 28); on billon – Thessalonica (nos 32a, 32b, 39a, 39b), Nicomedia (nos 56, 61).

Section 12.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Severus as *caesar*, 305-06

Obverse titles

[Severus] NOB/NOBIL/NOBILISSIMVS C/CAES/CAESAR: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 616, 619), Ticinum (nos 49a, 50, 53, 54a), Aquileia (nos 42, 44, 47a, 50a, 53), Serdica (nos 8a, 9a), Nicomedia (no. 34), and Antioch (no. 67); on billon – London (examples include nos 59a, 67a), Trier (examples include nos 647, 650a), Lyons (no. 193 199a), Ticinum (nos 58a, 60a), Aquileia (examples include nos 67a, 68a), Rome (examples include nos 122, 124), Carthage (no. 40a), and Siscia (examples include nos 174a, 183).
 FL VAL SEVERVS NOB C/CAES/CAESAR: on billon – Serdica (no 13a, 25), Heraclea (no. 26a), Cyzicus (no. 20a), Antioch (nos 71a, 75a), and Alexandria (nos 56, 60a).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on gold – Serdica (nos 8a, 9a); on billon – Rome (nos 125, 127).

Section 12.2: mints controlled by Severus as *augustus*, 306-07 (Trier, Lyons, Ticinum, Aquileia, Siscia)

Obverse titles

Augusti:

[Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on gold – Aquileia (no. 74).
 IMP [Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 176b-176c).

IMP C [Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on billon – Ticinum (nos 60A, 64, 73, 81), Aquileia (examples include nos 76a-76b), and Siscia (nos 178a-178b).

Caesares:

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB CAES: on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 186a-186b).

[Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB CAES: on billon – Ticinum (examples include nos 63a, 63b), Aquileia (examples include nos 82a-82b).

Section 13.1: common title formulae on the coinage of Maximinus as *caesar*, 305-06

Obverse titles

GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES/CAESAR: on billon - Serdica (no. 13b), Heraclea (no. 26b), Nicomedia (no. 40), Cyzicus (no. 20b), Antioch (nos 71b, 75b), and Alexandria (nos 52, 60b).

[Maximinus] N/NOB/NOBIL/NOBILISSIMVS C/CAES/CAESAR: on gold - Trier (examples include nos 621, 626b), Ticinum (nos 49b, 54b), Aquileia (nos 47b, 50b, 54), Siscia (nos 150-51, 154-55), Serdica (nos 8b, 9b), Nicomedia (nos 31, 35-36), and Antioch (nos 64, 68); on billon - London (examples include nos 58b, 63b), Trier (examples include nos 664b, 685b), Lyons (examples include nos 197 199b), Ticinum (nos 58b, 60b), Aquileia (examples include nos 67b, 68b), Rome (nos 123b, 129b, 133b), Carthage (no. 40b), and Siscia (examples include nos 174b, 187).

MAXIMINVS CAES: on gold - Aquileia (nos 45, 52).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on gold - Siscia (no. 151), and Serdica (nos 8b, 9b); on billon - Trier (no. 733a).

Section 13.2: mints controlled by Maximinus as *caesar*, 306-10 (Antioch, Alexandria)

Obverse titles

Augusti:

[Galerius/Severus/Licinius] P F AVG: on gold – Antioch (no. 101).

[Galerius/Severus/Licinius] AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold – Antioch (nos 78-79, 102), and Alexandria (no. 61).

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius] P F AVG: on billon – Antioch (examples include nos 82, 106b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 65, 101b).

IMP C [Galerius/Severus/Licinius] P F AVG: on billon – Alexandria (examples include nos 62, 66).

Caesares:

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB C/CAES: on gold – Alexandria (no. 94A); on billon – Antioch (examples include nos 81, 87b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 63-64).

[Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB C/CAES: on gold – Alexandria (nos 96-97); on billon – Antioch (nos 120, 124-25).

[Constantinus] FIL AVGG: on billon – Antioch (nos 104-05, 111), and Alexandria (nos 99b, 100b, 113, 117).

Section 13.3: mints controlled by Maximinus as *augustus*, 310–13 (Nicomedia after 311, Cyzicus after 311, Antioch, Alexandria)

Obverse titles

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Cyzicus (examples include nos 76, 79).

[Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Antioch (examples include nos 126, 127a) and Alexandria (nos 131-32); on billon – Antioch (nos 144, 145a), and Alexandria (examples include nos 104, 140).

[Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG: on gold – Antioch (no. 128).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Nicomedia (examples include nos 68-69), Cyzicus (examples include nos 77a, 77b), Antioch (examples include nos 133a, 133b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 103, 105c).

Section 14.1: mints controlled by Licinius, 308-11 (Siscia)

Obverse titles

Augusti:

[Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (no. 189).
 IMP [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (nos 190-91 194-95 197); on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 198a 209).

Caesares :

[Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB C/CAES: on gold – Siscia (nos 192-93); on billon – Siscia (nos 199 202)
 [Maximinus/Constantinus] FIL AVGG : on billon – Siscia (nos 200a 200b 203).

Section 14.2: mints controlled by Licinius, 311-13 (Siscia, Thessalonica, Heraclea)

Obverse titles

[Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (nos 212-13, 216, 219), Thessalonica (no. 43); on billon – Thessalonica (nos 46, 47a, 47b, 50a, 50b).
 [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG/AVGVSTVS: on gold – Siscia (nos 214-15), Thessalonica (nos 44a-45).
 IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (217-18); on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 222a, 222b), Thessalonica (examples include nos 51, 53).
 IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG: on billon – Siscia (no. 231b).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Maximinus/Constantine] P F INV AVG: on billon – Heraclea (nos 66-67, 69A, 71-72).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon -Thessalonica (no. 49), and Heraclea (examples include nos 65, 66).
 IMP C [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon -Thessalonica (nos 52a, 52b, 58, 61a, 61b).

Section 14.3: mints controlled by Licinius, 313-17 (Siscia, Serdica up to 314, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria)

Obverse titles

FL VALER CONSTANTINVS PF AVG: on billon – Alexandria (nos 2, 4, 6).
 [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Siscia (examples include nos 2, 12), Heraclea (nos 1, 3, 8, 10), Nicomedia (nos 1, 5, 7, 9), Antioch (examples include nos 1-2), and Alexandria (no. 1).
 [Licinius] AVGVSTVS: on gold – Siscia (no. 20), Heraclea (nos 2, 4, 7, 9), Nicomedia (examples include nos 2-3).
 IMP CONSTANTINVS P F INV AVG: on billon – Thessalonica (no. 4).
 IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Siscia (examples include nos 3-4), Thessalonica (nos 2-3, 5), Antioch (nos 15-18).
 IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] AVG: on gold – Siscia (nos 1, 13, 14); on billon – Siscia (nos 7, 11, 16), Heraclea (nos 14-15).
 (with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Heraclea (nos 5-6, 11-13), Nicomedia (nos 12-15), Cyzicus (examples include nos 1-2), Antioch (examples include nos 7-8), and Alexandria (examples include nos 8-9).
 IMP C CONSTANTINVS P F AVG: on billon – Thessalonica (no. 1).

Reverse titles

CONSVL P P PROCOS: on gold – Antioch (nos 5, 6, 9).

Section 14.4: mints controlled by Licinius, 317-24 (Heraclea, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria)

Obverse titles

[Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Antioch (nos 19-20, 22-23).

IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] AVG: on billon – Heraclea (examples include nos 16, 17), Nicomedia (nos 23-24), Cyzicus (nos 8-9), Antioch (nos 24-27), and Alexandria (nos 22-23).

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) IMP C [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Nicomedia (nos 16, 18-20); on billon – Heraclea (nos 51-52), Nicomedia (nos 43-44), Cyzicus (nos 14-15), Antioch (nos 34-35), and Alexandria (nos 27-28, 32).

Reverse titles

CONSVL P P PROCONSVL: on gold – Antioch (nos 19, 22, 23).

I O M ET VIRTVTI DD NN AVG ET CAES: on billon – Heraclea (no. 50).

I O M ET FORT CONSER DD NN AVG ET CAES: on billon – Nicomedia (no. 38).

I O M ET FORT CONSER DD NN AVGG: on billon Nicomedia (no. 39).

I O M ET VICT CONSER DD NN AVG ET CAES: on billon – Cyzicus (no. 13).

D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG / VOT X X: on billon – Heraclea (nos 56, 60, 64, 66).

Section 15: mints controlled by Maxentius, 306-12 (Ticinum up to 310, Aquileia up to 310, Rome, Ostia from 308, Carthage up to 307)

Obverse titles*Ambiguous position:*

D N MAXENTIVS PRINC: on gold - Rome (no. 137).

MAXENTIVS PRINC INVICT: on gold - Rome (examples include nos 135, 138); on silver - Rome (no. 153); on billon - Carthage (no. 53).

Augusti:

MAXENTIVS P F INVIC AVG: on gold - Rome (no. 152), and Ostia (no. 7).

[Maxentius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Ticinum (nos 89-90), and Rome (nos 166, 168, 171, 182, 186); on silver – Rome (nos 187, 189-91), and Ostia (nos 11, 13); and billon - Ticinum (examples include 84a, 92), Rome (examples include nos 163 195), and Ostia (nos 60-64).

IMP MAXENTIVS P F AVG CONS/COS II/CONS II: on billon - Ticinum (no. 102-04, 107), and Aquileia (nos 119, 125-26).

IMP MAXENTIVS P F INV AVG: on billon - Aquileia (nos 102, 104).

IMP MAXENTIVS P F AVG: on gold - Rome (nos 166, 168, 171, 182, 186); on silver - Rome (no. 188); on billon – Ticinum (examples include 100-01), Rome (nos 205, 262), and Carthage (nos 54, 57, 60).

IMP C MAXENTIVS P F AVG CONS II: on billon - Aquileia (no. 123-24).

IMP C MAXENTIVS P F INV AVG: on billon - Aquileia (nos 101, 103, 106).

IMP C M VAL MAXENTIVS P F AVG: on billon - Rome (nos 167, 172-73).

IMP C [Maxentius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon - Aquileia (examples include nos 113-14), Rome (examples include nos 162 194a), and Ostia (examples include nos 14-15).

Caesares:

M AVR MAXENTIVS NOB C/CAES: on gold - Carthage (nos 47, 48a); on billon - Carthage (no. 51a).

CONSTANTINVS NOB C/CAES/CAESAR: on gold – Rome (nos 139, 141-42, 150-51); on silver – Rome (nos 154-55); on billon – Ticinum (nos 87-88), Aquileia (no. 117), and Rome (nos 159b, 160, 164 196 200).

Reverse titles

[CONSERV/AT/O]R VRB/VRBIS SVAE: on gold – Rome (examples include nos 135, 187), and Ostia (no. 2); on silver (Rome no. 187).
 CONSERV VRB SVAE: on billon - Ticinum (examples include nos 91, 94), Aquilea (examples include nos 113-14), and Rome (examples include nos 202a 204).
 CONSERVATOIRES VRB SVAE: on billon - Ticinum (nos 84a, 85), and Rome (examples include nos 162-63).
 CONSERVATOR AFRICAE SVAE: Carthage (nos 53, 56).
 CONSERVATOR KART AVAE: Carthage (no. 59).
 FELIX PROCESS CONSVLAT AVG N: on gold - Rome (nos 167-69, 179).
 FEL PROCESS CONS III AVG N: on billon- Rome (nos 214-17, 264).
 PRINCIPI IMPERII/IMPERII ROMANI: on gold - Rome (nos 172, 186).

Section 16.1: mints controlled by Constantine as *caesar*, 306-07 (London, Trier, Lyons)***Obverse titles****Augusti:*

[Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 622, 624); on silver – Trier (nos 635, 637).
 [Galerius/Severus] AVG: on billon – Trier (no. 682b).
 IMP [Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 52b, 52c), Trier (examples include nos 652b, 652c), and Lyons (examples include nos 203-04).
 IMP [Galerius/Severus] P AVG: on billon – Trier (nos 654, 655b).
 IMP [Galerius/Severus] AVG: on billon – Trier (nos 657b, 657c, 658b), and Lyons (186b, 186c).
 IMP C [Galerius/Severus] P F AVG: on billon – London (nos 40, 41-44).

Caesares:

(with *praenomen* and *nomen*) [Maximinus/Constantinus] NOB CAES: on gold – Trier (no. 615); on silver – Trier (638-41); on billon – Trier (examples include nos 664b, 666), and Lyons (examples include nos 210a, 210b).
 [Maximinus/Constantinus] N/NOB/NOBIL/NOBILISSIMVS C/CAES/CAESAR: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 625b, 627); on silver – Trier (no. 635); on billon – London (examples include nos 65-66), Trier (examples include nos 680, 686), and Lyons (nos 197-98 199b 199c).

Reverse titles*Caesares:*

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on billon – London (no. 97).

Section 16.2: mints controlled by Constantine as *augustus*, 307-12 (London, Trier, Lyons up to 310)***Obverse titles****Augusti:*

[Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 755, 799); on billon – London (examples include nos 101, 128), Trier (nos 902, 905, 910-11), and Lyons (no. 311).
 [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 116, 137).
 [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AG/AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 102, 178), and Trier (examples include nos 896-97).
 IMP [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 796, 801); on silver – Trier (nos 757-58, 764); on billon – London (examples include nos 103, 130), Trier (examples include nos 770-71), and Lyons (examples include nos 304-05).
 IMP [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (nos 104-05, 109, 112, 124), and Trier (no. 792).
 IMP [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG: on gold – Trier (nos 794-95, 797); on silver – Trier

(examples include nos 759, 827); on billon – Trier (nos 901, 905, 909a).
 IMP CONSTANTINVS P F INVICT AVG: on gold – Trier (no. 806).
 IMP C [Galerius/Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon - Lyons (examples include nos 238-39).

Caesares:

GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C: on billon – Lyons (nos 257, 279, 284).
 MAXIMINVS NOB/NOBIL CAES: on silver – Trier (no. 763); on billon – Lyons (nos 261, 271, 275).

Reverse titles

Augusti:

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 755, 796); on billon – London (examples include nos 11, 214), Trier (examples include nos 780-81), and Lyons (examples include nos 244-45).
 PONT MAX TRIB P P P PROCES: on gold – Trier (no. 795).
 CONCORDIA FELIX DD NN: on billon – Lyons (nos 246-48).
 CONCORDIA/SECVRIT PERPET DD NN: on billon – Lyons (nos 249-50, 276-78).
 CONSTANTINO P AVG B R P NAT: on billon – Lyons (nos 252, 286).
 PRINCIPI IVVENT B R P NAT: on billon – Lyons (nos 270, 298).

Caesares:

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on billon – Lyons (no. 275).
 PRINCIPI IVVENTVT B R P NAT: on billon – Lyons (no. 271).
 SECVRIT PERPET DD NN: on billon – Lyons (no. 279).

Section 16.3: mints controlled by Constantine as *augustus*, 312-13 (London, Trier, Ticinum, Aquileia, Rome, Ostia)

Obverse titles

[Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 810-11), Ticinum (nos 112-14), Rome (examples include nos 282-83), and Ostia (nos 66-67, 69-70); on billon – London (examples include nos 246-47), Trier (examples include nos 861-62), Ticinum (examples include nos 115-16), and Aquileia (examples include nos 132, 136).
 [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 248, 258), and Trier (no. 895).
 [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AG/AVG: on gold – Ostia (no. 72); on billon – London (examples include nos 243, 259), Trier (no. 876), and Rome (examples include nos 355-56).
 IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Aquileia (no. 129), and Ostia (nos 65, 71); on billon – London (examples include nos 244, 250), Trier (examples include nos 844a, 844b), Ticinum (nos 120, 123b, 131c, 135b), Aquileia (examples include nos 130-31), Rome (examples include nos 292a, 292b), and Ostia (examples include nos 75a, 75b).
 IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 252-53), Trier (nos 249a, 249b, 857, 889).
 IMP [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] AVG: on billon – Trier (examples include nos 850a, 850b).
 IMP C [Licinius/Maximinus/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Rome (examples include nos 287, 320), and Ostia (examples include nos 73-74).
 INVICTVS CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG: on gold – Ticinum (no. 111).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on gold – Trier (no. 814), Rome (no. 284); on billon – London (examples include nos 263-64).
 S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI: on gold – Trier (no. 815), Ticinum (no. 114); on billon – Rome (examples include nos 345-46), and Ostia (examples include nos 94, 95a).
 VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM: on gold – Trier (no. 818).
 VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG: on gold – Rome (nos 285a-286).
 LIBERATORI VRBIS SVAE: on billon – Rome (nos 303-04).

RESTITVTOR VRBIS SVAE: on billon – Rome (no. 312).

RESTITVTOR ROMAE: on billon – Ostia (no. 82).

Section 16.4: mints controlled by Constantine as *augustus*, 313-17 (London, Trier, Lyons, Arles, Ticinum, Rome)

Obverse titles

[Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 4, 7), Arles (examples include nos 1-2), Ticinum (examples include nos 26-27); on billon – London (examples include nos 13, 54), Lyons (nos 5-7, 9, 42), Trier (examples include nos 41-42), Ticinum (examples include nos 1-2).

[Licinius/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 15, 40), Lyons (nos 43, 54).

[Licinius/Constantinus] AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 17, 47), Lyons (examples include nos 44, 55), Trier (nos 65, 68-69).

IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (nos 1-3, 11); on silver – Ticinum (no. 26); on billon – London (examples include nos 5 19), Lyons (examples include nos 1, 11), Trier (examples include nos 48, 57), Arles (examples include nos 23-24), Ticinum (examples include nos 4-5), Rome (examples include nos 2-3).

IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (nos 7-8 20, 49, 61), Lyons (nos 31, 49), Trier (nos 43, 98).

IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] AG/AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 11-12), Lyons (examples include nos 3, 13), Trier (examples include nos 39, 59), Arles (no. 66).

IMP C [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on billon – Arles (examples include nos 9-10).

CONSTANTINVS MAXIM AVG: on gold – Ticinum (no. 57A).

CONSTANTINVS P AVG COS IIII: on billon – Lyons (no. 25).

IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX P F AVG: on gold – Ticinum (no. 25).

COMIS (*sic*) CONSTANTINI AVG: on gold – Ticinum (nos 32, 53).

Reverse titles

PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS: on billon – Arles (no. 55).

PRINCIPIS PROVIDENTISSIMI: on gold – Arles (nos 1-3).

SAPIENT PRINCIP: on billon – Trier (nos 62-65), Rome (nos 16-17)

S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI: on billon – Arles (examples include nos 9-10).

FELIX PROCESSVS COS IIII AVG N: on gold – Trier (no. 12), Ticinum (no. 26)

P M TRIB P COS IIII P P PROCOS: on gold – Trier (nos 18-21), Ticinum (nos 30, 38).

LIBERALITAS XI IMP IIII COS P P P: on gold – Ticinum (no. 53).

TRB P CONS IIII P P PROCONSVL: on billon – Arles (nos, 48, 69).

RECTOR TOTIVS ORBIS: on gold – Ticinum (no. 54).

RESTITVTORI LIBERTATIS: on gold – Trier (nos 22-26), Ticinum (nos 31-32, 39, 55).

RECVPERATORI VRB SVAE: on billon – Arles (nos, 13, 33, 34).

VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG: on gold – Trier (no. 33), Ticinum (no. 34); on billon – Trier (nos 32 190), Rome (no. 44).

VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM: on gold – Trier (nos 27-31), Ticinum (nos 33, 57, 57A).

VICTORIAE LAETAE AVGG NN: on gold – Ticinum (no. 25).

VICTORIOSO SEMPER: on gold – Ticinum (no. 59).

Section 16.5: mints controlled by Constantine as *augustus*, 317-24 (London, Lyons, Arles, Trier, Ticinum, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia, Sirmium from 320, Thessalonica)

Obverse titles

[Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (examples include nos 190 192), Arles (nos 114-17), Ticinum (examples include nos 101, 104), Aquileia (examples include nos 27-28), Siscia (nos 23, 25, 28-30), Sirmium (examples include nos 1, 4), and Thessalonica (examples include nos 8, 10); on billon – London (examples include nos 108-09), Lyons (nos 125-27 197), Trier (examples include nos 133-34), Rome (no. 74), and Thessalonica (nos 53-54).

- [Licinius/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – London (examples include nos 102, 110), Lyons (nos 64, 128), Trier (nos 230, 250, 259), Arles (examples include nos 205, 217).
- [Licinius/Constantinus] AG/AVG: on gold – Sirmium (no. 13); on billon – London (examples include 112, 185), Lyons (examples include nos 66, 80), Trier (examples include nos 223, 258), Ticinum (examples include nos 89, 114), Aquileia (examples include nos 48-49) Rome (examples include nos 140, 143), Siscia (examples include nos 51, 83), Sirmium (no. 48), and Thessalonica (examples include nos 55-56).
- IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] P F AVG: on gold – Trier (no. 357), Ticinum (nos 96, 100, 102), Aquileia (no. 33), Siscia (no. 26), Sirmium (no. 11); on silver – Aquileia (nos 80, 83); on billon – Trier (nos 127-28 208), Arles (examples include nos 136-37), Ticinum (examples include nos 62, 69), Aquileia (examples include nos 1, 6), Rome (examples include nos 51-52), Siscia (examples include nos 31-32), and Thessalonica (nos 19, 27-28, 84).
- IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] P AVG: on billon – Lyons (no. 69), Trier (nos 129-30), Ticinum (no. 88).
- IMP [Licinius/Constantinus] AVG: on gold – Trier (nos 185 195); on silver – Sirmium (no. 74); on billon – London (examples include nos 101, 106), Lyons (nos 70-71, 82), Trier (examples include nos 131, 157), Arles (examples include nos 195-96), Ticinum (examples include nos 83, 91), Aquileia (nos, 47, 59, 66-67, 86), Rome (examples include nos 151, 160), Siscia (examples include nos 33-34), and Thessalonica (examples include nos 29, 33).
- D N CONSTANTINVS MAX/MAXIMVS AVG: on gold – Siscia (no. 27), Sirmium (nos 3, 18, 28, 35).
- CONSTANTINVS MAX AV/AVG: on silver – Sirmium (nos 14-15); on billon – London (nos 170-71), Trier (nos 216, 224, 228).
- IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG: on gold – Trier (nos 242, 256), Siscia (no. 24); on silver – Aquileia (no. 82); on billon – London (nos 154, 157, 166-67), Lyons (no. 63), Trier (no. 209), Trier (nos 213-14), Arles (nos 190 193), Ticinum (no. 90a), Siscia (no. 52).
- IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX P F AVG: on gold – Thessalonica (nos 6-7); on billon – Rome (no. 67).
- IMP CONSTANTINVS IN AVG: on billon – London (no. 155).
- No legend: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 131); on billon – Rome (no. 77).

Reverse titles

- PRINCIPI/PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS: on billon – London (nos 105, 132).
- VICTORIA LAETAE PRINC PERP: on billon – London (examples include nos 154-55), Lyons (examples include nos 63-64), Trier (examples include nos 208A 209), Arles (examples include nos 185-86), Ticinum (examples include nos 82-83), and Siscia (examples include nos 47-48).
- VICTORIA LAETAE AVG N: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 7).
- SARMATICA DEVICTIA: on billon – London (nos 289-90), Lyons (nos 209, 212, 214, 219, 222), Trier (nos 429, 435), Arles (nos 257-58), and Sirmium (no. 48).
- VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG: on gold – Trier (no. 190), Aquileia (no. 30), Siscia (no. 28), Sirmium (nos 9, 11, 28, 37, 47), and Thessalonica (nos 12-14); on billon – Rome (no. 261).
- VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 135).
- P M TRIB P COS VI P P PROCOS: on gold – Trier (nos 242, 244-45).
- FELIX PROCESSVS COS IIII/VI AVG N: on gold – Ticinum (no. 104), Aquileia (nos 28, 34), Sirmium (no. 4).
- FELIX PROCESSVS COS VI: on gold 0 Sirmium (no. 1)
- DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM: on gold – nos 256-57).
- CONSTANTINVS AVG: on gold – Thessalonica (no. 131).
- [Constantinus/Licinius] AVG/AVGVSTI / VOTIS X X: on billon – Lyons (nos 91-93, 96-97), Arles (examples include nos 208-09, Siscia (no. 140) and Thessalonica (no. 84)
- D N [Constantinus/Licinius] AVG/AVGVSTI / VOT X X: on billon – Arles (nos 224, 229, 234, 240), Aquileia (nos 64, 67, 86), Rome (nos 228, 233), Siscia (nos 150, 160), and Thessalonica (examples include nos 88, 111).
- D N [Constantinus/Licinius] MAX AVG / VOT X X: on billon – Trier (no. 439), Arles (examples include nos 223, 228), Rome (examples include nos 225-26), Ticinum (examples include nos 130-31), Aquileia (nos 65, 66, 85, 104), Siscia (examples include nos 148, 159), and Thessalonica (examples include nos 96, 101).
- DN LICINI INVICT AVG: on billon – Ticinum (nos 132-33, 146-47).

Section 16.6: female and deceased members of Constantine's family at mints he controlled, 317-24.***Obverse titles***

[Fausta/Helena] N F: on billon – Thessalonica (nos 48-51).

[Fausta/Helena] AVG/AVGVSTA: on gold – Trier (nos 443-45), and Thessalonica (nos 134, 137); on billon – Trier (nos 458-50), and Rome (nos 248, 250-51, 270-71).

DIVO [Claudio/Maximiano/Constantio] OPT/OPTIMO IMP: on billon - Trier (examples include nos 201 204), Arles (nos 173, 176), Aquileia (nos 23, 26), Rome (examples include nos 107, 109), Siscia (nos 43, 45) and Thessalonica (nos 24, 26).

DIVO MAXIMIANO SEN IMP/FORT IMP: on billon - Arles (nos 174, 177), Aquileia (nos 21-24), Rome (nos 104, 11) and Siscia (nos 41, 44)

DIVO MAXIMIANO SEN: on billon - Rome (no. 117).

DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO PRINC/PRINCIPI: on billon – Arles (nos 175, 178), Rome (examples include nos 105, 111), Aquileia (nos 22, 25), Siscia (no. 42), and Thessalonica (no. 25).

DIVO CONSTANTIO: on billon – Rome (nos 118-19).

DIVO CLAUDIO: on billon – Rome (no, 119).

Appendix 1.2 – *CIL* Numbers for Superlatives and Uncommon Epithets in Inscriptions

Preface

The following inscriptions contain superlative and other epithets that are uncommon or notable for the emperors who reigned between 270 and 324. They are all found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*) and their *CIL* numbers are listed. The same geographic divisions are used to group the titles here as they in *CIL*, except for those in Italy south of the Po, which have been grouped together from *CIL* volumes IX, X, and XI. This includes the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, which are otherwise grouped with southern Italy in *CIL* X.

Often the original inscription gives the emperors' names and title that agree with them in the dative, but they are listed here in the nominative since this is how they are listed in the indices of most *CIL* volumes. All abbreviations have been lengthened for simplicity since there is significant variety in the abbreviations used for certain titles (i.e. *invictus* may be abbreviated any of IN, INV, INVIC, or INVICT, as well as being spelled out in full), unless the abbreviation is significant (i.e. DDDD NNNN to indicate specifically a plural of four *domini*). For inscriptions where the stone is broken, the reconstruction suggested by *CIL* has been used, and the break has not otherwise been noted. The emperors' names and standard titles (i.e. IMP C [emperor's names] P F AVG P M TR P COS P P PROCOS) are not included unless altered by the superlative or other epithet. This is marked by an ellipsis.

All inscriptions which name the *augusta* or other female relative of an *augustus* have been included. The names and titles of the sons of Constantine and Licinius, or other emperors, have not been included, and any reference to them has been marked with an ellipsis. Every inscription of Constantine's with the epithet MAXIMVS has not been included since they are so common. Only those where MAXIMVS may be altering another title are included (i.e. PIVS MAXIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 4885)

The contexts for inscriptions mentioned in the chapter have been noted with the following symbols:

Unknown context - *

Military context (legionary camps, or otherwise set up by a legion)- †

Milestone - ♂

Imperial context (Imperial edicts, praetorian prefects, etc.) - 𐌆

Civic context (civic government, public monuments, etc.) - 𐌸

Religious context (temples) - 𐌹

Private context (small objects, jewelry)- 𐌺

Section 1.1 – Aurelian

Hispania

1. DEVS AVRELIANVS - *CIL* II: 3832*.
2. DOMINVS AVRELIANVS DEVS - *CIL* II: 14,19*.

Gallia Cisalpina

1. MAGNVS AVGVSTVS PRINCEPS MAXIMVS IMPERATOR FORTISSIMVS CONSERVATOR ORBIS - *CIL* V: 4319.

Rome

1. ... PONTIFEX MAXIMVS GOTHICVS MAXIMVS GERMANICVS MAXIMVS PARTHICVS MAXIMVS CARPICVS MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE V CONSVL II DESIGNATVS III IMPERII III PATER PATRIAE PROCONSVL RESTITVTOR ORBIS FORTISSIMVS ET VICTORIOSISSIMVS PRINCEPS – *CIL* VI: 1112€.
2. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1114.

The East

1. INSVPERABILIS AC INVICTVS SEMPER... REPARATOR CONSERVATOR PATRIAE PROCONSVL – *CIL* III: 12333*, 13715*.
2. RESITVTOR PATRIAE - *CIL* III: 7586.

Africa

1. DEVS AVRELIANVS - *CIL* VIII: 4877†.
2. ... MILIARIA ORBIS SVI RESTITVIT - *CIL* VIII: 10374m.
3. PACATISSIMVS AVGVSTVS: *CIL* VIII: 22120, 22096, 22132, 22175.
4. PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 5143, 10133, 22011, 22058, 22067, 22178, 22209 22241, 22244.
5. PERPETVVS GLORIOSISSIMVS INDVLGENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS ... RESTITVTOR ORBIS – *CIL* VIII: 22449, 22361.
6. PERPETVVS VICTORIOSISSIMVS INDVLGENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS... RESTITVTOR ORBIS – *CIL* VIII: 10205, 10217, 22361 20537.
7. PERPETVVS VICTORIOSISSIMVS INDVLGENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 10177.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. DEVS AVRELIANVS - *CIL* XI: 556*.
2. HERCVLES CONSORS DOMINI NOSTRI AVRELIANI INVICTI AVGVSTI – *CIL* XI: 6308€.
3. RESTITVTOR TOTIVS ORBIS SVI DOMINVS... VICTORIOSVS AVG - *CIL* XI: 1214.
4. SANCTISSIMVS ET SVPER OMNES PRINCIPES VICTORIOSISSIMVS... – *CIL* XI: 3878€.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. INDVLGENTISSIMVS INVICIS (*sic*) PRINCEPES RESTITVTOR GALLIARVM – *CIL* XVII: 184am.
2. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* XVII: 404m.
3. PACATOR ET RESTITVTOR ORBIS – *CIL* XVII: 160m, 172m.
4. RESTITVTOR ORBIS – *CIL* XII: 5456; *CIL* XVII: 31 79m.

Germania

1. PACATOR ET RISTITOR (*sic*) ORBIS – *CIL* XIII: 5561.

Section 1.2 – Ulpia Severina

Hispania

1. DOMINA SANCTISSIMA VLPPIA SEVERINA PIISIMA AVGVSTA CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI... MATER CASTRORVM ET SENATVS ET PATRIAE – *CIL* II: 14, 927.

Gallia Cisalpina

1. VLPPIA SEVERINA AVGVSTA CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI... MATER CASTRORVM – *CIL* V: 29.

2. VLPIA SEVERINA AVGVSTA CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI ... – *CIL* V: 3330.

Africa

1. VLPIA SEVERINA PIA CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI ... - *CIL* VIII: 23114.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. VLPIA SEVERINA AVGVSTA CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI ... – *CIL* XI: 2099.

Section 2 – Tacitus

Africa

2. FORTISSIMVS IMPERATOR ET PACATOR ORBIS - *CIL* VIII: 10072, 22083, 22106, 22122.
3. FORTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 22093.
4. INVICTISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 22137.
5. ... AVGVSTVS MILIARIA ORBIS SVI RESTITVIT – *CIL* VIII: 22474m.
6. PACATISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 22177.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. VERAЕ LIBERTATIS AVCTOR... – *CIL* XII: 5563.

Germania

1. CLEMENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XIII: 9001-02.

Section 3 – Florian

Hispania

1. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 1115.

Germania

1. DOMINVS ORBIS ET PACIS – *CIL* XIII: 8895e.

Section 4 – Probus

The East

1. PIETATE IVSTITA FORTITVDINE ET PLENVS OMNIVM VIRTVTVM PRINCEPS VERVS
GOTHICVS VERVSQVE GERMANICVS AC VICTORIARVM OMNIVM NOMINIBVS INLVSTRIS...
– *CIL* II: 3738.

Africa

1. CONSERVATOR DIGNITATIS ET LIBERTATIS – *CIL* VIII: 26561.
2. FORTISSIMVS AC PISSIMVS – *CIL* VIII: 26560.

Section 5 – Carus

Hispania

1. CLEMENTISSIMVS... FORTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 14, 929.
2. FORTISSIMVS ET CLEMENTISSIMVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* II: 4102.
3. IMPERATOR AC NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS... - *CIL* II: 4761.
4. INVICTISSIMVS CAESAR PISSIMVS PRINCEPS CLEMENTISSIMVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* II: 4908.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. MAGNVS ET FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS – *CIL* XI: 6501.

Section 6.1 – Carinus as *caesar*

Hispania

1. VICTORIOSISSIMVS PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS – *CIL* II: 4103.

Africa

1. FILIVS EIVS (i.e Carus) – *CIL* VIII: 22104m.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. AVGVSTI NOSTRI FILIVS – *CIL* XVII: 116m.

Section 6.2 – Carinus as *augustus*

Rome

1. INVICTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1115.

Africa

1. [Carinus and Numerian] IMPERATORES FRATRES DOMINI NOSTRI... – *CIL* VIII: 4221o.
2. AVGVSTI NOSTRI FILIVS – *CIL* VIII: 22431m.
3. FILIVS CARI FRATER NVMERIANI – *CIL* VIII: 5332e.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. FORTISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS PRINCEPS – *CIL* XI: 1655.

Section 6.3 – Magnia Urbica

Hispania

1. MAGNIA VRBICA AVGVSTA MATER CASTRORVM CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI – *CIL* II: 3394.

Africa

1. MAGNIA VRBICA AVGVSTA MATER CASTRORVM SENATVS AC PATRIAE CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI... – *CIL* VIII: 2384.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. MAGNIA VRBICA AVGVSTA MATER CASTRORVM CONIVNX DOMINI NOSTRI – *CIL* XI: 5168.
2. MAGNIA VRBICA AVGVSTA CONIVNX IMPERATORI... - *CIL* XI: 6957a.

Section 7.1 – Numerian as *caesar*

Hispania

1. DOMINVS INDVLGENTISSIMVS... NOBILISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* II: 4909.
2. FILIVS DOMINI NOSTRI MARCI AVRELII CARI AVGVSTI – *CIL* II: 4452e.

Section 7.2 – Numerian as *augustus*

* the following are inscriptions that name Numerian as *augustus* only. Any which name him alongside his brother are under Carinus' name in section 6.2.

No inscriptions which name only Numerian as *augustus* contain any titles of note.

Section 8 – Diocletian*Hispania*

1. AETERNVS AVGVSTVS... SANCTISSIMVS – *CIL* II 14, 927.

The East

1. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] DOMINI NOSTRI IOVIVS ET HERCVLIVS AVGVSTI NOSTRI - *CIL* III: 3231€.
2. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] INVICTISSIMI PRINCIPES – *CIL* III: 7603b, 7606b, 7609a, 13755a, 14215.
3. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] INVICTISSIMI PRINCIPES NOSTRI TOTIVS ORBIS RESTITVTORES – *CIL* III: 22†, 13578†.
4. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] IOVIVS ET HERCVLIVS AVGVSTI - *CIL* III: 12310*.
5. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] PISSIMI ATQVE INDVLGENTISSIMI PROVIDENTISSIMIQVE PRINCIPES NOSTRI – *CIL* III: 14195 (27).
6. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] ... PARENTES GENERIS HVMANI – *CIL* III: EDICT p.824•.
7. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] INVICTISSIMI REPARATORES ORBIS SVI ET PROPAGATORES GENERIS HVMANI... – *CIL* III: 6661†.
8. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] IOVII ET HERCVLII RELIGIOSISSIMI AVGVSTI ET CAESARES - *CIL* III: 4413∞.
9. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] OPTIMI MAXIMIQVE PRINCIPES NOSTRI... – *CIL* III: 14149.
10. DII GENITI ET DEORVM CREATORES DOMINI NOSTRI... – *CIL* III: 710*.
11. DOMINVS ORBIS TERRARVM TOTIVS PIETATIS AVGVSTVS... PATER AVGVSTORVM – *CIL* III: 12049∞.
12. FORTISSIMVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCEPS PIISMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 6103€.
13. PATER AVGVSTORVM – *CIL* III: 14149 (34), 14150 (6).
14. PATER IMPERATORVM – *CIL* III: 14404.
15. PERPETVI PRINCIPES – *CIL* III: 15106.
16. PERPETVVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* III: 324, 11832.
17. PROVIDENTISSIMVS PRINCEPS RECTOR ORBIS AC DOMINVS FVNDATOR PACIS AETERNAE... – *CIL* III: 5810•.
18. [RESTITVTOR ORBIS AL]TERIVS – *CIL* III: 14148 (11)∞.

Gallia Cisalpina

1. AETERNVS IMPERATOR NOSTER MAXIMVS OPTIMVSQVE PRINCEPS... – *CIL* V: 2817.
2. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* V: 205.
3. DOMINVS ET DEVS [] DEORVM – *CIL* V: 2*.

Rome

1. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] ... PROVIDENTISSIMIQVE DIOCLETIANVS ET MARCVS AVRELIVS [MAXIMIANVS] FELICISSIMI – *CIL* VI: 31382.
2. FORTISSIMVS AC FLORENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1129a.
3. PISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1120a.
4. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1121, 31387a.
5. INVICTISSIMVS ET CLEMENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1122.
6. MIRAE VIRTVTIS ET PRAECIPVAE PIETATVS FORTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 31381a.
7. DOMINI NOSTRI PROVIDENTISSIMI IMPERATORES... – *CIL* VI: 31556.
8. PROVIDENTISSIMVS AC PISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 36945.

Britain

1. IOVIVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VII: 1283£.

Africa

1. [Diocletian/Maximian/Galerius/Constantius] GENIVS DDDD(ominorum) NNNN(ostrorum)... - *CIL* VIII: 23179•.

2. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AETERNI AVGVSTI - *CIL* VIII: 18698.
3. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] INVICTI ET PERPETVI AVGVSTI - *CIL* VIII: 21995.
4. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] INVICTISSIMI AC RESTITVTORES ET PROPAGATORES ORBIS SVORVM - *CIL* VIII: 2572†.
5. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] MAGNI ET INVICTI AVGVSTI... - *CIL* VIII: 22204.
6. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] MAGNI ET INVICTI... PERPETVI AVGVSTI - *CIL* VIII: 1550, 14893.
7. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] PERPETVI AVGVSTI - *CIL* VIII: 14401, 17327.
8. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] SALVI ET IMPERANTES DOMINI NOSTRI- *CIL* VIII: 501€.
9. FORTISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS AC PACATOR... - *CIL* VIII: 703.
10. PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 22220, 22245.
11. PISSIMVS... INVICTVS AVGVSTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS - *CIL* VIII: 2575†.
12. SEMPER AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 2347.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. [Diocletianus/Maximianus] AVGVSTI MAXIMI - *CIL* XI: 6656.
2. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] AETERNI IMPERATORES - *CIL* XI: 6623.
3. [Diocletianus/Maximianus/Constantius/Galerius] IOVIORVM, HERCVLIORVM - *CIL* XI: 6719£.
4. SEMPER AVGVSTVS - *CIL* XI: 6633.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. [Diocletian/Maximian/Constantius/Galerius] BONO REI PVBLICAE NATI ET INVICTI PRINCIPES - *CIL* XII: 5520*.
2. RESTITVTOR ORBIS PROVIDENTISSIMVS {RETRO PRINCIPVM} AC SVPER OMNES <RETRO PRINCIPES> FORTISSIMVS - *CIL* XII: 78.

Section 9– Maximian

*the following are inscriptions that name Maximian only. Many name Maximian alongside his co-emperors. These are noted under Diocletian's name in section 8.

The East

1. FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS ET SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PISSIMVS... - *CIL* III: 325.

Gallia Cisalpina

1. PISSIMVS AC FORTISSIMVS DOMINVS NOSTER... - *CIL* V: 2818.

Rome

2. CLEMENTISSIMVS AC FORTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VI: 1128.
3. DOMINVS VICTORIOSISSIMVS - *CIL* VI: 36946.
4. FORTISSIMVS ET INVICTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VI: 36886.
5. FORTISSIMVS PISSIMVS INVICTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VI: 1127.
6. FORTISSIMVS PISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VI: 1129.
7. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS... - *CIL* VI: 1125.
8. PROPAGATOR IMPERII REIQVE ROMANAE... - *CIL* VI: 31385b*.
9. PROPAGATOR ROMANI IMPERII OMNIVM VIRTVTVM COMPOS - *CIL* VI: 36947*.
10. VIRTUTE INVICTO CLARITATE PRAECIPVO AETERNITATE PERPETVVS DOMINVS NOSTER. - *CIL* VI: 1126€.

Africa

1. FORTISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS AC PACATOR... *CIL* VIII: 7003.
2. IMPERANS DOMINVS NOSTER... - *CIL* VIII: 10220€.
3. PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 10128, 10235, 10256, 10257, 22489.
4. PISSIMVS AC FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS NOSTER... - *CIL* VIII: 2573.
5. PISSIMVS... INVICTVS AVGVSTVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS - *CIL* VIII: 2574†.
6. SEMPER AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 1488, 22520.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. HERCVLIVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XI: 6711f.

Section 10.1: Constantius as *caesar*

* the following are inscriptions that name Constantius as *caesar* only. Many name Constantius as *caesar* alongside his co-emperors. These are noted under Diocletian's name in section 8.

Hispania

1. [Constantius/Galerius] NOBILISSIMI CAESARES NOSTRI CONSTITVTI – *CIL* II: 1439.

The East

1. [Constantius/Galerius] HERCVLIVS ET IOVIVS NOBILISSIMVS CAESARES - *CIL* III: 12310*.
2. FORTISSIMVS AC NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* III: 449.
3. OPTIMVS BENIGNISSIMVSQVE PRINCEPS – *CIL* VIII: 326.

Rome

1. PISSIMVS AC FORTISSIMVS FVNDATOR PACIS AC PVBLICAE LIBERTATIS AVCTOR – *CIL* VI: 1132a.

Africa

2. [Constantius/Galerius] FELICISSIMI AC NOBILISSIMI CAESARES – *CIL* VIII: 8251, 22347.
3. [Constantius/Galerius] INVICTISSIMI CAESARES - *CIL* VIII: 10058.
4. [Constantius/Galerius] PISSIMI CAESARES - *CIL* VIII: 22111.
5. FLORENTISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 10176.
6. FORTISSIMVS AC NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 10319, 15420.
7. FORTISSIMVS AC NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR... VIRTUTE ETIAM ET PIETATE PRAECIPVVS – *CIL* VIII: 26562.
8. FORTISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 2577.
9. HERCVLIVS IVNIOR NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 10183n, 10187n.
10. IMPERATOR DOMINVS NOSTER FORTISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 22338.
11. PERPETVVS NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 10258, 22345, 22352.
12. PERPETVVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 22481.
13. PISSIMVS AC VICTORIOSISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 18262.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. [Constantius/Galerius] INVICTI ET CLEMENTISSIMI... - *CIL* IX: 5433, 5939, 5941.
2. [Constantius/Galerius] PERPETVI CAESARES – *CIL* XI: 6623.
3. DOMINVS NOSTER... FORTISSIMVS AC BAEATISSIMVS CAESAR *CIL* XIV: 2075.
4. MAGNVS PRINCEPS... – *CIL* IX: 5579.
5. NOBILISSIMVS AC BEATISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* X: 1246.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. [Constantius/Galerius] PIENTISSIMI PRINCIPES – *CIL* XII: 5504.

Germania

1. INDVLGENTISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* XIII: 3672.

Section 10.2: Constantius as *augustus*

The East

1. AVGVSTVS SEMPER – *CIL* III: 14404.

Africa

1. [Constantius/Galerius] SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* VIII: 22108.
2. AETERNVS DOMINVS NOSTER... ORBIS RESTITVTOR – *CIL* VIII: 10222.

3. PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 22351.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. INVICTVS ET CLEMENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* IX: 4962.

Germania

1. MAXIMVS NOBILISSIMVS... - *CIL* XIII: 8926.

Section 11.1: Galerius as *caesar*

*the following are inscriptions that name Galerius as *caesar* only. Many name Galerius as *caesar* alongside his co-emperors. These are noted under Diocletian's name in section 8 or Constantius' name in section 10.1.

Hispania

1. FORTISSIMVS AC BEATISSIMVS DOMINVS NOSTER... *CIL* II: 1440.

The East

1. FORTISSIMVS ET INVICTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 12245.
2. DIIS AVCTORIBVS AD REI PVBLICAE AMPLIFICANDAE GLORIAM PROCREATVS PI [] NOSTER IOVIVS MAXIMVS [] NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* III: 12326a.

Africa

1. PISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 22111.
2. PERPETVVS AC FLORENTISSIMVS... IOVIVS IVNIOR – *CIL* VIII: 22526a.
3. NOBILISSIMVS FELICISSIMVSQVE AVGVSTVS - *CIL* VIII: 21964.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. DOMINVS NOSTER... FORTISSIMVS AC BAETISSIMVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* XIV: 2076.

Germania

1. NOSTRORVM AVGVSTORVM FILIVS – *CIL* XIII: 9069e.

Section 11.2: Galerius as *augustus*

*the following are inscriptions that name Galerius as the senior emperor. Some name Galerius as *augustus* but second to Constantius as *augustus*. These have been included under Constantius in section 10.2.

The East

1. IMPERATOR CAESAR [IO]BIVS (*sic*)... - *CIL* II: 11317*.
2. [Galerius/Maximinus] DOMINI NOSTRI MAXIMIANVS IOVIVS INVICTVS AVGVSTVS ET MAXIMINVS CAESAR – *CIL* II: 3522e.

Africa

1. PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS SENATVS AC PATRIAE – *CIL* VIII: 17884e.
2. PROVIDENTISSIMVS ET CVM ORBE SVB REDDITA LIBERTATE TRIVMFANS DOMINVS NOSTER PERPETVVS IMPERATOR... INVICTVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS VICTOR - *CIL* VIII: 18260e.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. AVGVSTVS SEMPER – *CIL* XII: 5676.

Section 11.3: Galeria Valeria

The East

1. DOMINA NOSTRA GALERIA VALERIA SACRATISSIMA AC PISSIMA AVGVSTA MATERQVE CASTRORVM – *CIL* III: 13661e.

Section 12.1: Severus as *caesar**Africa*

1. PERPETVVS... - *CIL* VIII: 22491.
2. [Severus/Maximinus] INVICTISSIMI AC NOBILISSIMI CAESARES - *CIL* VIII: 18080.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. [Severus/Maximinus] NOBILISSIMI AC BEATISSIMI CAESARES – *CIL* IX: 5433, and 5967.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. NOBILISSIMVS AC PERPETVVS – *CIL* XIII: 5540a.

Section 12.2: Severus as *augustus*

No inscriptions that name Severus as *augustus* contain any titles of note.

Section 13.1: Maximinus as *caesar*

*see section 12.1 for inscriptions that name both Severus and Maximinus as *caesares*.

No inscriptions that name only Maximinus as *caesar* contain any titles of note.

Section 13.2: Maximinus as *augustus*

*See section 16.2 for inscriptions that name Maximinus alongside Constantine and Licinius as *augusti*.

No inscriptions that name only Maximinus as *augustus* contain any titles of note.

Section 14: Maxentius*Rome*

1. CENSVRAE VETERIS PIETATISQVE SINGVLARIS DOMINVS NOSTER MAXENTIVS – *CIL* VI: 31394a*.
2. DOMINVS NOSTER CLEMENTISSIMVS ET PISSIMVS MAXENTIVS INVICTVS ET PROVIDENTISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 36949.
3. INVICTVS AC PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS NEPOS DIVI MAXIMIANI SENIORIS ET DIVI MAXIMIANI IVNIORIS ... - *CIL* VI: 1138.

Africa

1. FILIVS DIVI MAXIMIANI GENERO DIVI MAXIMIANI FELICISSIMORV<M> (*sic*) IMPERATORVM IMPERATOR TOTIVS ORBIS PERPETVVS DOMINVS NOSTER... PIVS FELIX INVICTVS ET GLORIOSISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 20989.
2. DOMINVS NOSTER... AVGVSTVS NOBILISSIMVS VIR CONSVL – *CIL* VIII: 22423.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XI: 6661.
2. AVGVSTVS SEMPER – *CIL* XI: 6651.
3. INVICTVS AC PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 6952.
4. INVICTVS AC PERPETVVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 6867, 6956.
5. INVICTVS AETERNVS ET CLEMENTISSIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* IX: 5949.
6. INVICTVS ET AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 6868, *CIL* XI: 6631a.
7. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* XI: 6957b.
8. PERPETVVS INVICTVS AVGVSTVS - *CIL* X: 6816, 6882, 8306.

Section 15: Licinius

* the following are inscriptions that name Licinius only. Many name Licinius alongside his co-emperors. These are noted under Constantine's name in section 16.2.

Hispania

1. DEVICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM BARBARARVM ET SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PROVIDENTISSIMVS... – *CIL* II: 4105€.
2. FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS – *CIL* II: 14, 940.

The East

1. AVGVSTVS PERPETVVS – *CIL* III: 14404.

Africa

1. AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 10224.
2. MAGNVS ET FORTISSIMVS PRINCEPS – *CIL* VIII: 24093.
3. AVGVSTVS SEMPER – *CIL* VIII: 22311.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. AVGVSTVS SEMPER – *CIL* IX: 5955, *CIL* XI: 6670.
2. BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* X: 6360*.
3. DOMINI INVICTISSIMI – *CIL* XI: 6671a.
4. DOMINVS NOSTER IOVIVS LICINIVS INVICTVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* IX: 6026*.
5. PERPETVVS AC SEMPER AVGVSTVS PROVIDENTISSIMVS FORTISSIMVSQVE DOMINVS NOSTER – *CIL* X: 7950.
6. RESTITVTOR LIBERTATIS ET FVNDATOR PVBLICAE SECVRITATIS – *CIL* X: 7284.

Section 16.1: Constantine as *caesar**Hispania*

1. BONO GENERIS HVMANI NATVS – *CIL* II: 14, 941*.

The East

1. FILIVS AVGVSTORVM – *CIL* III: 14215(2)*.

Africa

1. PISSIMVS... NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 961, 18791, 22075, 22223.
2. FELICISSIMVS AC NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR – *CIL* VIII: 22347.
3. [B]ONO [REI PVBLICAE] NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 22312€.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI PII FILIVS – *CIL* XVII: 88, 167, 300a, 372, 546, 592.
2. DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI FILIVS... BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* XVII: 190m.

Germania

1. DIVI CONSTANTII PII FELICIS AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* XIII: 9130.

Section 16.2 Constantine as *augustus**Hispania*

2. AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 2203.
3. DEVICTOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM... SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 482€.
4. DOMINVS NOSTER FORTISSIMVS ADQVE INDVLGENTISSIMVS... AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 2205.
5. PERPETVVS AC SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 4878.

6. PISSIMVS FORTISSIMVS FELICISSIMVS CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 4106.
7. PIVS MAXIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 4885.
8. SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* II: 481.
9. SEMPER AVGVSTVS DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* II: 4910.

The East

1. [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] ... AVGVSTI AETERNI – *CIL* III: 13675.
2. [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] ... SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* III: 5565.
3. [Constantine/Licinius] ... AVGVSTI PERPETVI – *CIL* III: 14207 (37).
4. [Constantine/Licinius] ROMANAE SECVRITATIS LIBERTATISQVE VINDICES ...AETERNI AVGVSTI – *CIL* III: 13734^o.
5. [Constantine/Licinius] ... VICTORES AVGVSTI – *CIL* III: 7172.
6. AVGVSTVS SVPER OMNES RETRO PIVS – *CIL* III: 7000I^e.
7. CLEMENTISSIMVS ADQVE PERPETVVS IMPERATOR DOMINVS NOSTER CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 6751.
8. CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR AC TRIVMFATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 14184(19)-(20), 14177(1)-(2), 14195(28)-(29), 14177(7).
9. CONSTANTINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS FILIVS AVGVSTORVM – *CIL* III: 6174.
10. CONSTANTINVS PRINCEPS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 14149 (20).
11. DEFENSOR QVIETIS PVBLICAE DOMINVS NOSTER HVMANISSIMVS INVICTISSIMVSQVE... AETERNVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 6585.
12. DOMINVS IMPERATOR CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 7000III.
13. DOMINVS NOSTER... MAXIMVS BEATISSIMVS AC SVPER OMNES RETRO PRINCIPES PISSIMVS ET VICTORIOSISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS BONO REIPVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* III: 5326^e.
14. FORTISSIMVS AC PISSIMVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* II: 12050, 12073.
15. MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 14463.
16. PATER AVGVSTVORVM – *CIL* III: 14197.
17. PISSIMVS ET FELICISSIMIS DOMINVS NOSTER – *CIL* II: 6586.
18. PIVS FELIX MAXIMINVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 4121, 14184(17).
19. PIVS FELIX MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS NOSTER BONO GENERIS HVMANI NATVS – *CIL* III: 5726^e.
20. SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 7052, 13686, 14184(37).
21. SEMPER AVGVSTVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* III: 11844^m.
22. VICTOR – *CIL* III: 14201(1).
23. VICTOR AC TRIVMFATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* III: 12256.

Gallia Cisalpina

1. DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* V: 8108-09.
2. FILIVS DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI – *CIL* V: 8081.
3. MAGNVS INVICTVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS IMPERATOR... - *CIL* V: 8014^m.
4. ORBIS DOMINVS PISSIMVS AC FELICISSIMVS... *CIL* V: 3331.
5. SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* V: 8030a, 8048.
6. VICTOR AVGVSTVS – *CIL* V: 8065.

Rome

1. AMPLIFICATOR VRBIS ROMAE DOMINVS NOSTER CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS PIVS FELIX VICTOR AC TRIVMPHATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1142^o.
2. BEATISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS FILIVS DIVI PII CONSTANTII AVGVSTI – *CIL* VI: 36952a.
3. LIBERATOR VRBIS, FVNDATOR QVIETIS – *CIL* VI: 1139^e.
4. SEMPER AVGVSTVS... – *CIL* VI: 1155.
5. TRIVMFATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS OB AMPLIFICATAM TOTO ORBE REM PVBLICAM – *CIL* VI: 1141^o.
6. VICTOR CLEMENTISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1134.

7. VICTOR ET TRIVMPHATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1135.
8. DOMINVS NOSTER RESTITVTOR HVMANI GENERIS PROPAGATOR IMPERII DITIONISQ[VE] ROMANAE FVNDATOR ETIAM SECVRITATIS AETERNAE CONSTANTINVS FELIX MAXIMVS PIVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS FILIVS DIVI CONSTANTII SEMPER ET VBIQVE VENERABILIS – *CIL* VI: 1140.
9. FORTISSIMVS CLEMENTISSIMVS ET GLORIOSISSIMVS PRINCEPES... – *CIL* VI: 1143.
10. FVNDATOR PACIS ET RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE DOMINVS NOSTER CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR AC TRIVMPHATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1146.
11. OMNIA MAGNO VIRTUTE PRAECIPO DOMINVS NOSTER CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR AC TRIVMPHATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 1144€.
12. OPTIMVS ET VENERABILVS DOMINVS NOSTER CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS VICTOR PIVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VI: 36951.
13. PISSIMVS AC FORTISSIMVS FVNDATOR PACIS ET RESTITVTOR PVBLICAE LIBERTATIS VICTORIOSSIMVS... – *CIL* VI: 1145.

Britain

1. AVGVSTVS DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI – *CIL* XII: 1170.

Africa

1. [Constantine/Licinius] INVICTI ET GLORIOSISSIMI – *CIL* VIII: 17681.
2. [Constantine/Licinius] INVICTI SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* VIII: 210, 8713.
3. [Constantine/Licinius] PERPETVI AVGVSTI – *CIL* VIII: 10246, 21961, 22204.
4. [Constantine/Licinius] SALVI ET PROPITII – *CIL* VIII: 27415.
5. [Constantine/Licinius] VICTORIOSISSIMI SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* VIII: 2241.
6. BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 10050*, 21934*, 21935*, 21956m, 22272€, 22400m.
7. BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS... PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNICA POTESTATIS VIII CONSVL VIII (*sic*) CONSVL III DESIGNATVS IIII – *CIL* VIII: 22017m.
8. CONDITOR ADQVE AMPLIFICATOR TOTIVS ORBIS ROMANI SVI AC SINGVLARVM QVARVMQVE CIVITATVM ADQVE ORNATVM LIBERALITATE CLEMENTIAE SVAE AVGENS... PIVS VICTOR PERPETVVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 1179€.
9. CONDITOR CONSTANTINVS GLORIOSSIMVS... – *CIL* VIII: 12524c€.
10. DOMINVS TRIVMFI LIBERTATIS ET NOSTER RESTITVTOR INVICTIS LABORIBVS SVIS PRIVATORVM ET PVBLICAE SALVTIS ... PERPETVVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 15451€.
11. DOMITOR [] SERVITVT[IS] [OP]PRE[SSAM VICTORIA RE]VOCAVIT [] AC SEMPER INVICTVS... – *CIL* VIII: 7007€.
12. FELICITATIS RESTITVTOR CLEMENTISSIMVS IMPERATOR... PISSIMVS – *CIL* VIII: 991.
13. GLORIOSISSIMVS – *CIL* VIII: 12524.
14. INSTAVRATOR ADQVE AMPLIFICATOR VNIVERSORVM OPERVM... – *CIL* VIII: 12524.
15. INVCITVS PRINCEPS... – *CIL* VIII: 14436.
16. INVICTISSIMVS ATQVE INDVLGENTISSIMVS PRINCEPS... – *CIL* VIII: 12063.
17. INVICTVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS VICTOR – *CIL* VIII: 2721.
18. MAGNVS ET INVICTVS PRINCEPS.... – *CIL* VIII: 8477.
19. MAXIMVS VICTOR – *CIL* VIII: 1408.
20. MAXIMVS VICTOR AC TRIVMFATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 22578.
21. MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 4878, 22853.
22. MAXIMVS VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 10035m, 21973m.
23. MAXIMVS VICTORIOSISSIMVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 7008.
24. MAXIMVS VICTORIOSISSIMVS SEMPER... ET FVNDATOR PACIS VIRTUTE FELICITATE PIETATE PRAESTANS – *CIL* VIII: 7008.
25. NVMEN CONSTANTINI SANCTISSIMI ET INVICTISSIMI – *CIL* VIII: 7974.
26. OPTIMVS ET SVPER OMNES PRINCIPES INVCITVS... – *CIL* VIII: 14363€.
27. PERPETVAE SECVRITATIS AC LIBERTATIS... SEMPER AVGVSTVS... – *CIL* VIII: 7005.
28. PERPETVVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 14363.
29. PERPETVVS VICTOR BONO REIPVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 21933m.
30. PERPETVVS... *CIL* VIII: 22484.

31. PISSIMVS AC VICTORIOSISSIMVS... – *CIL* VIII: 18262.
32. PIVS FELIX VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS DOMINVS NOSTER BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 21965a α .
33. PROVIDENTISSIMVS ET CVM ORBE SVO REDDITA LIBERTATE TRIVMFANS... – *CIL* VIII: 2721 ϵ .
34. RESTITVTOR LIBERTATIS ET CONSERVATOR TOTIVS ORBIS... *CIL* VIII: 7010.
35. SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 7009, 8477, 22341, 22478, 22583, 22495.
36. SEMPER AVGVSTVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* VIII: 10332/3* 20607*.
37. TRIVMPHATOR OMNIVM GENTIVM AC DOMITOR VNIVERSARVM FACTIONVM QVI LIBERTATEM TENEBRIS SERVITVTIS OPPRESSAM SVA FELICI VICTORIA NOVA LVCE INLVMINAVIT- *CIL* VIII: 7006 ϵ .
38. TRIVMPHATOR SEMPER – *CIL* VIII: 7011.
39. VICTOR AC TRIVMPHATOR – *CIL* VIII: 12064, 12525, 26166.
40. VICTORES AC TRIVMPHATOIRES – *CIL* VIII: 12525.
41. VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* VIII: 14436.
42. VICTORIA DIVINA VIRTVTIS AVGGG – *CIL* VIII: 18240.
43. VICTORIOSISSIMVS ET MAXIMVS AVGVSTVS.... RESTITVTOR LIBERTATIS ET CONSERVATOR TOTIVS ORBIS – *CIL* VIII: 7010.
44. VIRTVTE MAGNO PIETATE PRAECIPVO SEMPER ET VBIQVE VICTOR – *CIL* VIII: 17885.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. [Constantin/Licinius] BONO REI PVBLICAE NATI – *CIL* XI: 6627b ϵ .
2. [Constantine/Licinius/Maximinus] SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* XI: 6667.
3. [Constantine/Licinius] BONO OMNIVM NATI – *CIL* X: 6959*.
4. [Constantine/Licinius] DOMINI NOSTRI AVGVSTI ... BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* X: 6973 ϵ .
5. BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS... DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* X: 6915 α , 6921 α , 6960 α .
6. BONO REP PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* IX: 5987*, 5993*, 6068 ϵ .
7. CLEMENTISSIMVS ET VICTORIOSISSIMVS DOMINVS NOSTER... - *CIL* X: 7204.
8. DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* X: *CIL* XI: 6631c, 6635b.
9. DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* XI: 6646 α .
10. DIVI CONSTANTII PII FELICIS AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* X: 8308.
11. DIVI CONSTANTII PII FILIVS – *CIL* X: 4578, 6837, 6843, 6874, 6878, 6930, 6933, 6935.
12. DOMINVS INVICTISSIMVS – *CIL* XI: 6671a.
13. DOMINVS NOSTER MAXIMVS VICTOR AVGVSTVS... – *CIL* X: 678.
14. DOMINVS NOSTER VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS... – *CIL* X: 1483, 1484.
15. FORTISSIMVS AC PISSIMVS IMPERATOR – *CIL* IX: 1115.
16. FORTISSIMVS AC PISSIMVS IMPERATOR DOMINVS NOSTER... - *CIL* IX: 1115.
17. IMPERATOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 1245.
18. INSTAVRATOR ORBIS TERRARVM PERPETVVS AC PISSIMVS IMPERATOR DOMINVS NOSTER... SEMPER VICTOR AVGVSTVS - *CIL* X: 677 ϵ .
19. LIBERALISSIMVS DOMINVS NOSTER – *CIL* X: 7909.
20. LIBERATOR ORBIS TERRARVM... DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* IX: 6038*.
21. LIBERATOR REI ROMANAE... DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* IX: 6060 α , 6076*, 6077*; *CIL* X: 6965 α .
22. LIBERATOR VRBIS (*sic?*) TERRARVM... DIVI COSTANTI (*sic*) FILIVS - *CIL* X: 6932.
23. MAXIMVS PIVS FELIX INVICTVS AVGVSTVS PERPETVVS SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 7974.
24. MAXIMVS VENERABILIS – *CIL* X: 407.
25. PISSIMVS AC VICTOR AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 517.
26. PIVS FELIX INVICTVS MAXIMVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XI: 7421.
27. PIVS FELIX VICTOR AVGVSTVS... - *CIL* XI: 6636; *CIL* XIV: 133.
28. PROPOGATOR ROMANI IMPERII FVNDATOR QVIETIS PVBLICAE... VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS... DIVI CLAVDI NEPOS DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* XI: 9 ϵ .
29. REPARATOR ORBIS SVI DOMINVS NOSTER – *CIL* X: 516.
30. RESTITVTOR ORBIS SVI – *CIL* XI: 6648.
31. RESTITVTOR PVBLICAE LIBERTATIS DEFENSOR VRBIS ROMAE COMMVNIS OMNIVM SALVTIS AVCTOR DOMINVS NOSTER... SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XIV: 131.

32. SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* IX: 5955.
33. VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* IX: 2446.
34. VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS – *CIL* X: 1482.
35. VICTOR SEMPER AVGVSTVS... DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* XI: 6654*.

Gallia Narbonensis

1. DIVI CONSTANTII PII AVGVSTI FILIVS... BONO REI PVBLICAE NATVS – *CIL* XII: 5519m, 5521*, 5522*, 5522a*, 5526*; *CIL* XVII: 120bbm, 122m, 125m.
2. DIVI CONSTANTII PII AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* XII: 5529; *CIL* XVII: 146, 163.
3. DIVI CONSTANTI PII FELICIS AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* XVII: 592, 593.
4. IMPERATORIS CONSTANTII AVGVSTI FILIVS – *CIL* XII: 5440.
5. MARCI AVRELII VALERII MAXIMIANI AVGVSTI NEPOS DIVI CONSTANTI AVGVSTI PII FILIVS – *CIL* XII: 5424, 5443, 5463, 5465, 5490, 5506, 5508, 5512, 5513, 5540, 5555; *CIL* XVII: 102, 103, 166 206, 282, 304a, 459.
6. PRINCEPS... DIVI CONSTANTII FILIVS – *CIL* XII: 667.
7. RESTITVTOR... - *CIL* XII: 5491.
8. VIRTUTE FORTISSIMO ET PIETATE CLEMENTISSIMO... MAXIMVS ET INVICTVS AVGVSTVS – *CIL* XII: 1852.

Germania

1. ... AVGVSTVS SEMPITERNVS... TOTO ORBE VICTORIIS SVIS SEMPER AC FELICITER CELEBRANDVS DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI PII FILIVS... – *CIL* XIII: 3255€.
2. PIVS FELICISSIMVS INVCITVS AVGVSTVS... MARCI AVRELII VALERII MAXIMIANI AVGVSTI NEPOS DIVI CONSTANTII AVGVSTI PII FILIVS – *CIL* XIII: 8978.
3. VIRTVS DOMINI CONSTANTINI... PRINCIPIS – *CIL* XIII: 8502.

Section 16.3 female relatives of Constantine

Helena

The East

1. HELENA AVGVSTA – *CIL* III: 14333.

Rome

1. DOMINA NOSTRA FLAVIA IVLIA HELENA PISSIMA AVGVSTA GENETRIX DOMINI NOSTRI CONSTANTINI... AVIA CONSTANTINI ET CONSTANTII... *CIL* VI: 1134.
2. DOMINA NOSTRA VENERABILA HELENA AVGVSTA GENETRIX DOMINI NOSTRI CONSTANTINI... - *CIL* VI: 1135.
3. DOMINA NOSTRA HELENA VENERABILIS... AVIA BEATISSIMORVM... - *CIL* VI: 1136.

Africa

1. DOMINA NOSTRA FLAVIA HELENA AVGVSTA – *CIL* VIII: 1633.

Italy (south of the Po)

1. HELENA MATER DOMINI NOSTRI CONSTANTINI MAXIMI VICTORIS SEMPER AVGVSTI – *CIL* IX: 2446.
2. DOMINA NOSTRA FLAVIA AVGVSTA HELENA DIVI CONSTANTI CASTISSIMA CONIVNX PROCREATRIX CONSTANTINI AVIA... - *CIL* X: 517.
3. PISSIMA AC CLEMENTISSIMA DOMINA NOSTRA AVGVSTA HELENA VXOR DIVI CONSTANTI MATER CONSTANTINI AVIA... - *CIL* X: 1483.
4. PISSIMA AC VENERABILIS DOMINA NOSTRA HELAENA (*sic*) AVGVSTA MATER CONSTANTINI AVIA... - *CIL* X: 1484.

Constantia

1. DOMINA NOSTRA CONSTANTIA INLVSTRIS ET DIVINA PROSA GENITA VENERABILIS
SOROR DOMINI NOSTRI CONSTANTINI ET AMITA... - *CIL* VI – 1153.

Fausta

The East

1. FLAVIA MAXIMA FAVSTA – *CIL* III: 14378a.

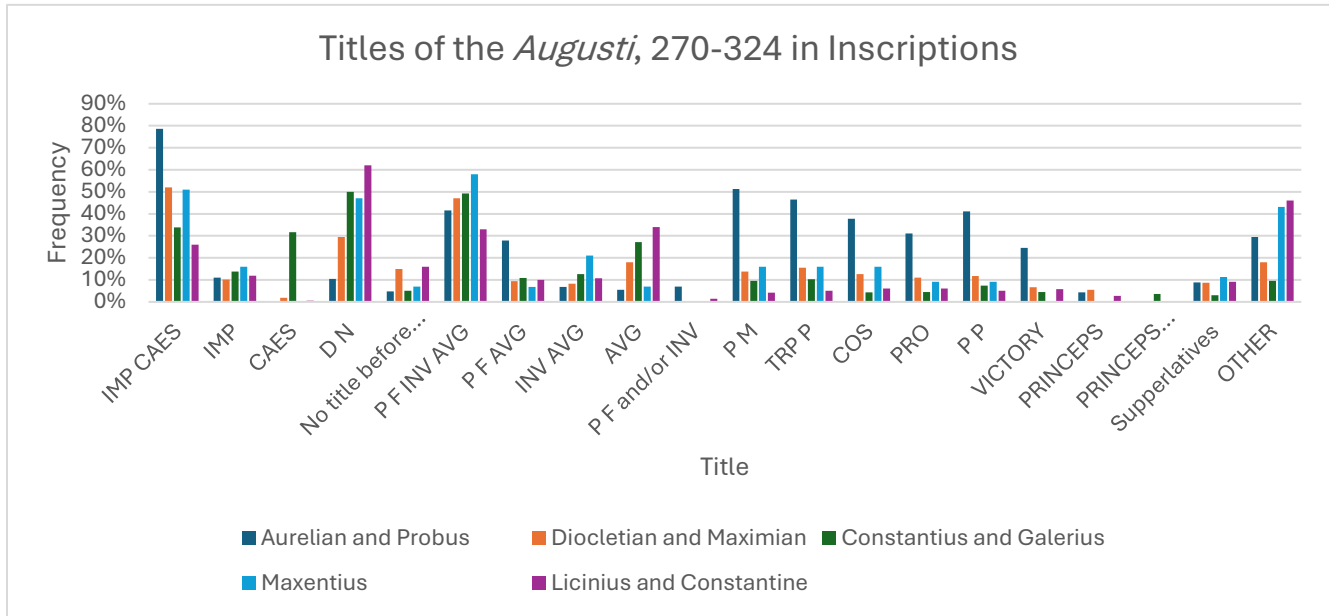
Italy (south of the Po)

1. PISSIMA AC VENERABILIS DOMINA NOSTRA FAVSTA AVGVSTA VXOR CONSTANTINI
NOVAERCA... - *CIL* X: 678.

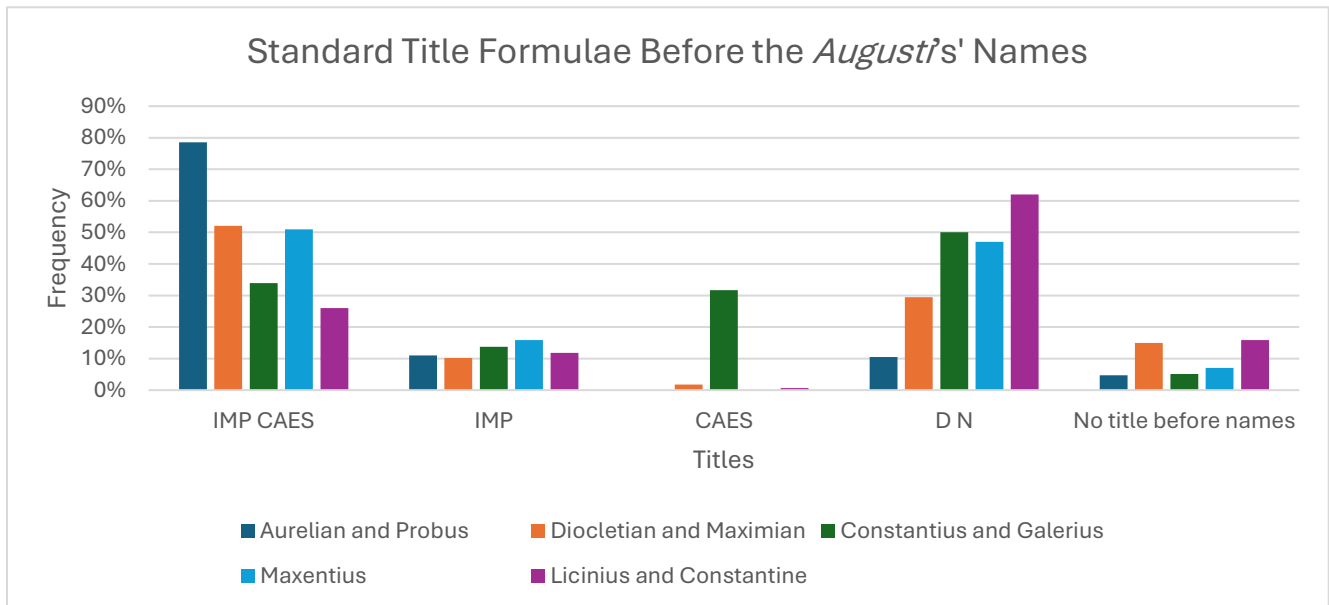
Appendix 1.3: Frequencies of Titles in Inscriptions

<i>Augustus</i>	Aurelian	Tacitus	Florian	Probus	Carus	Carinus	Numerian	Diocletian	Maximian	Constantius	Galerius	Severus	Maximinus	Maxentius	Licinius	Constantine
Number	113	34	8	40	37	31	23	281	278	70	64	7	13	43	95	304
IMP CAES	65%	85%	100%	93%	84%	48%	39%	55%	49%	31%	36%	14%	23%	51%	23%	29%
IMP	19%	12%	0%	3%	3%	16%	26%	11%	10%	19%	9%	0%	15%	16%	15%	10%
CAES	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	34%	28%	29%	0%	0%	0%	1%
D N	16%	0%	0%	5%	0%	32%	30%	29%	30%	49%	52%	57%	48%	47%	64%	59%
No title before names	7%	3%	13%	3%	14%	6%	4%	15%	15%	7%	3%	43%	15%	7%	18%	15%
P F INV AVG	41%	38%	75%	43%	70%	45%	39%	49%	45%	49%	48%	29%	54%	58%	32%	35%
P F AVG	28%	44%	25%	28%	11%	10%	9%	10%	9%	16%	6%	14%	0%	7%	1%	18%
INV AVG	6%	12%	0%	8%	5%	6%	0%	8%	9%	9%	17%	29%	15%	21%	15%	7%
AVG	4%	0%	13%	8%	5%	23%	26%	17%	19%	27%	28%	29%	23%	7%	37%	31%
P F and/or INV	4%	3%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%
P M	42%	59%	75%	60%	51%	26%	17%	16%	11%	10%	8%	0%	0%	16%	4%	4%
TRP P	38%	47%	75%	55%	54%	32%	30%	18%	13%	11%	8%	0%	0%	16%	4%	5%
COS	35%	32%	25%	40%	38%	23%	17%	15%	11%	6%	2%	0%	0%	16%	5%	6%
PROCOS	25%	26%	63%	38%	49%	26%	9%	13%	9%	4%	3%	0%	0%	9%	5%	6%
P P	37%	32%	50%	45%	41%	26%	22%	13%	10%	4%	9%	0%	0%	9%	4%	6%
Victory titles	27%	3%	0%	23%	5%	13%	9%	8%	5%	1%	6%	0%	0%	0%	8%	3%
PRINCEPS	6%	0%	0%	3%	3%	5%	0%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	2%
PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Supperlatives	15%	26%	0%	3%	14%	13%	4%	10%	8%	3%	3%	0%	6%	9%	8%	10%
OTHER	42%	21%	25%	5%	0%	10%	4%	18%	17%	9%	9%	0%	3%	40%	27%	64%

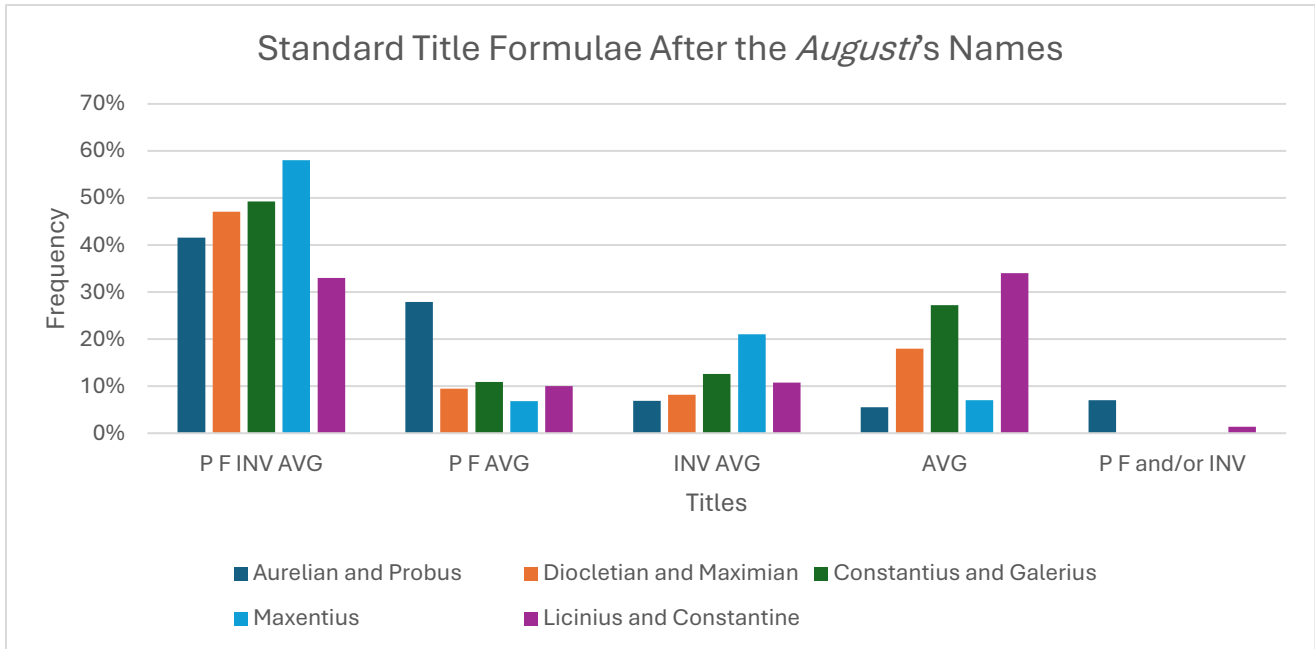
Table 1: The frequency of standard titles for the *augusti* who ruled between 270 and 324 in *CIL*. Inscriptions that do not give the emperor any titles, or where the titles have been lost over time, are not included. Inscriptions for these emperors as *caesar*, *augustus senior*, or with the title *divus*, where applicable, are excluded.



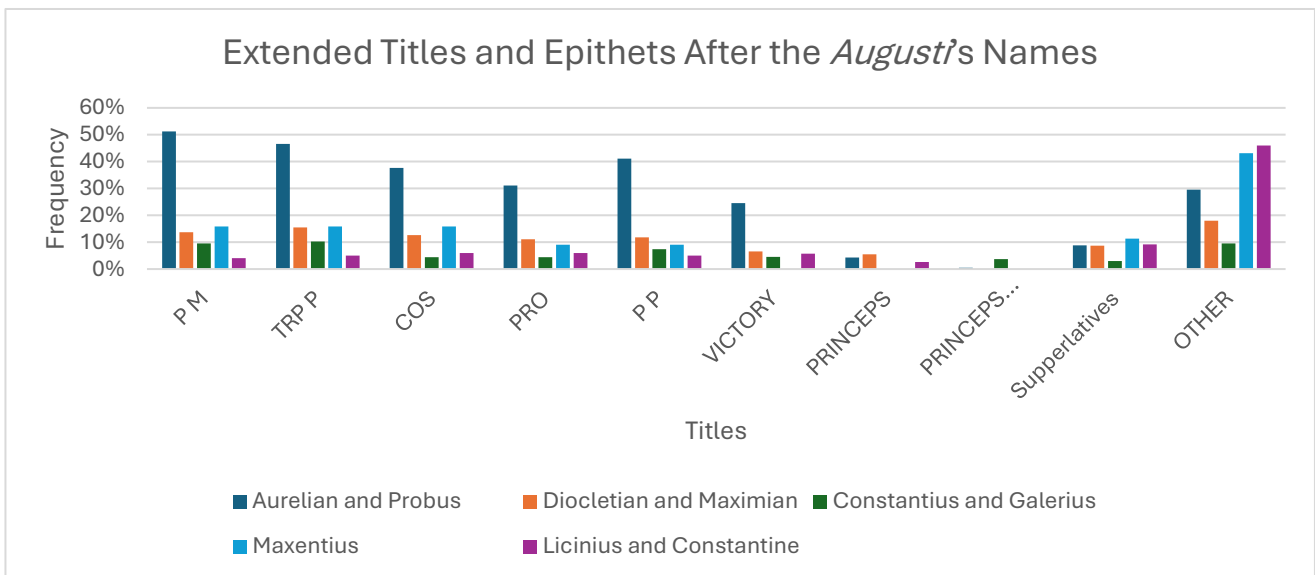
Graph 1: The average frequency of titles, taken from table 1, grouped by era: Aurelian and Probus (pre-tetrarchy), Diocletian and Maximian (first tetrarchy), Constantius and Galerius (second tetrarchy), Licinius and Constantine (post-tetrarchy), as well as Maxentius. This is all *augusti* with forty or more inscriptions between 270 and 324.



Graph 2: The average frequency of standard titles before the *Augusti*'s names from graph 1.



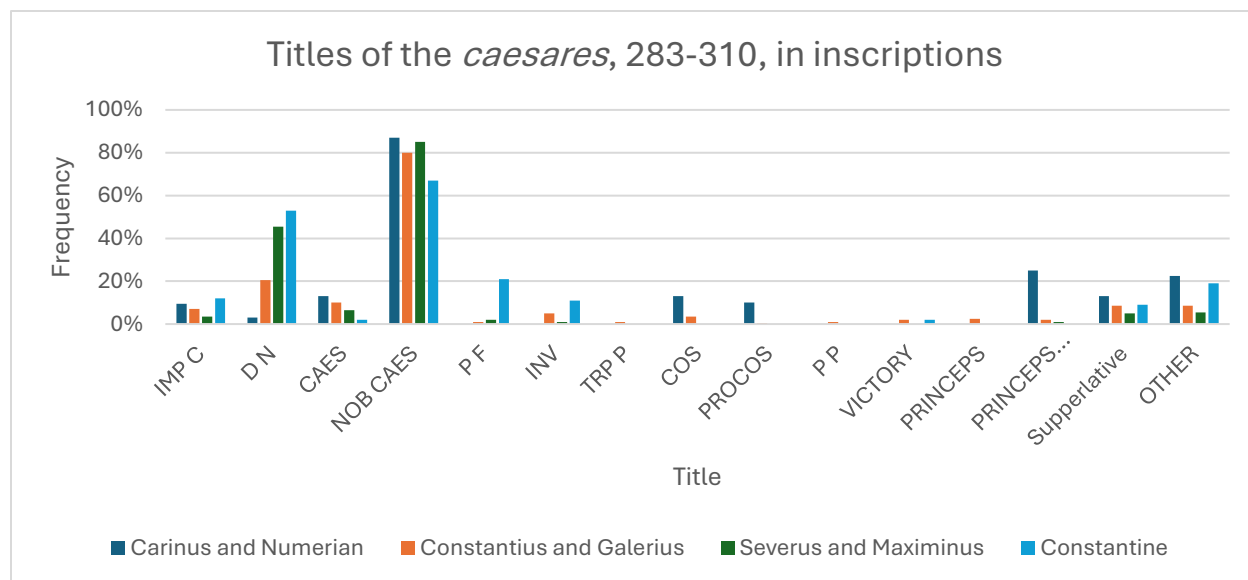
Graph 3: The average frequency of standard titles after the *Augusti*'s names from graph 1.



Graph 4: The average frequency of the *Augusti*'s extended titles and other epithets from graph 1.

<i>Caesar</i>	Carinus	Numerian	Constantius	Galerius	Severus	Maximinus	Constantine
Number	15	17	218	195	44	52	57
IMP C	13%	6%	9%	5%	7%	0%	12%
D N	0%	6%	23%	18%	47%	44%	53%
CAES	20%	6%	9%	11%	9%	4%	2%
NOB CAES	80%	94%	80%	80%	80%	90%	67%
P F	0%	0%	1%	1%	4%	0%	21%
INV	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%	2%	11%
TRP P	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
COS	20%	6%	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%
PROCOS	20%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
P P	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Victory titles	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%
PRINCEPS	0%	0%	3%	2%	0%	0%	0%
PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS	27%	29%	1%	3%	0%	2%	0%
Supperlatives	7%	6%	10%	7%	4%	6%	9%
OTHER	13%	12%	9%	8%	9%	2%	19%

Table 2: The frequency of standard titles for the *caesares* who ruled between 283 and 310 in *CIL*. This includes only inscriptions with *caesar* and not *augustus*.



Graph 5: The average frequency of titles, taken from table 2, grouped era: Carinus and Numerian (pre-tetrarchy), Constantius and Galerius (first tetrarchy), Severus and Maximinus (second tetrarchy), and Constantine.

Appendix 2: Reverse Types on the Coins of the First Tetrarchy

Preface

The following are *RIC* numbers for all the reverse legends that appear on the coins of the first tetrarchy after the coinage reform of 294. They are organized by *augusti* and *caesares*. They are colour coded by theme:

Military theme

Public theme

God or other religious theme

Virtues of the emperor

Vota

Promises

Section 1: Diocletian and Maximian, 294-305

Billon coins:

CONCORDIA MILITVM: Diocletian – Heraclea (nos 13-21), Cyzicus (nos 15a, 16a, 17), Antioch (nos 60a, 62a), and Alexandria (nos 46a, 47). Maximian – Heraclea (nos 14, 22), Cyzicus (nos 13, 15b, 16b), Antioch (nos 60b, 62b), and Alexandria (no. 46b).

CONCORDIAE AVGG (with device featuring Jupiter): Diocletian – Ticinum (no. 25a), Roma (nos 47a, 68a, 69), and Siscia (no. 91a). Maximian – Ticinum (no. 25b), Roma (nos 47b, 68b), and Siscia (no. 91b).

FORTVNA REDVCI AVGG NN/CAESS NN/AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian – Trier (examples include nos 228, 247). Maximian – Trier (examples include nos 230b, 246).

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI: Diocletian – London (examples include nos 1a, 6a), Trier (examples include nos 137a, 138), Lyons (examples include nos 2a, 3a), Ticinum (nos 23a, 29a, 31a, 33a), Aquileia (nos 18a, 22a, 23a, 25a, 27a), Roma (examples include nos 45a, 64a), Siscia (examples include nos 74a, 76a), Serdica (no. 3a), Thessalonica (nos 19a, 21a, 23a, 25a), Heraclea (nos 12a, 17a, 19a, 23a), Nicomedia (nos 27a, 29a), Cyzicus (nos 8a, 10a, 12a), Antioch (examples include nos 44a, 46a), Alexandria (examples include nos 14a, 16a). Maximian – London (examples include nos 1b, 2), Trier (examples include nos 137b, 138), Lyons (examples include nos 2b, 3b), Ticinum (nos 22b, 23b, 29b, 31b, 33b), Aquileia (examples include nos 18b, 20), Roma (examples include nos 44a, 45b), Siscia (examples include nos 74b, 76b), Serdica (no. 3b), Thessalonica (nos 19b, 21b, 23b, 25b), Heraclea (nos 12b, 17b, 19b, 23b), Nicomedia (nos 27b, 29b), Cyzicus (nos 8b, 10b, 12b), Antioch (examples include nos 44b, 46b), Alexandria (examples include nos 14b, 16b). Diocletian and Maximian together – Trier (no. 144).

HERCVLI VICTORI: Maximian – Alexandria (nos 38-39).

IOVI CONS CAES: Diocletian – Alexandria (nos 41-42).

MONETA/MONETA SACRA/SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian – Trier (examples include nos 418, 419a), Ticinum (nos 43a, 45a, 47a), Aquileia (examples include nos 29a, 31a), and Siscia (examples include nos 126a, 131a). Maximian – Trier (examples include nos 419b, 420), Ticinum (nos 43b, 45b, 47b), Aquileia (examples include nos 29b, 31b), and Siscia (nos 126b, 131b).

SACRA MONET VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian – Roma (examples include nos 98a, 100a). Maximian – Roma (examples include nos 98b, 100b).

VTILITAS PVBLICA: Diocletian – Ticinum (no. 27a), and Roma (no. 48). Maximian – Ticinum (no. 27b), Roma (no. 62), and Siscia (no. 94).

Silver coins:

PROVIDENTIA AVGG: Diocletian – Rome (nos 10a, 30a, 34a), Siscia (no. 33a), Antioch (no. 31), and Alexandria (no. 7a). Maximian – Rome (nos 10b, 12, 30b, 34b), Siscia (no. 33b), and Alexandria (no. 7b).

VICTORIA AVGG: Diocletian – Siscia (examples include nos 49, 51). Maximian – Siscia (nos 50, 63b, 64b).

VIRTVS MILITVM: Diocletian – Trier (examples include nos 102a, 109a), Ticinum (nos 14a, 18a), Roma (nos 27a,

32a, 40a), Siscia (examples include nos 32a, 43a), Serdica (no. 1a), Thessalonica (nos 6, 11a, 13a, 15a, 17a), Antioch (nos 35a, 37a, 39a, 42a), and Alexandria (nos 9a, 10a). Maximian – Trier (examples include nos 102b, 109b), Ticinum (nos 14b, 18b), Roma (nos 27b, 28, 32b, 40b, 41), Siscia (examples include nos 32b, 43b), Serdica (no. 1b), Thessalonica (nos 11b, 13b, 15b, 17b), Antioch (nos 35b, 37b, 39b, 42b), and Alexandria (nos 9b, 10b).

XCVI: Diocletian – Ticinum (no. 20a), Aquileia (no. 16a), and Carthage (no. 15a). Maximian – Ticinum (no. 20b), Aquileia (no. 16b), and Carthage (no. 15b).

Gold coins:

COMES AVGG (with device featuring Mars): Diocletian - Trier (no. 36a). Maximian - Trier (nos 36b, 37); (with device featuring Minerva): Maximian - Trier (no. 4).

COMITATVS AVGG: Diocletian - Trier (nos 6, 7a), and Roma (no. 1). Maximian - Trier (no. 7b), and Roma (nos 2-3).

CONSERVATORI AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian - Trier (no. 39). Maximian – Trier (no. 40).

GAVDETE ROMANI (with SIC/XX/SIC/XXX in device): Diocletian – Aquileia (no. 14a). Maximian – (Aquileia (no. 14b).

HERCVLI COM(iti)/COMITI AVSS (sic)/AVG NOSTR/AVGG ET CAESS NN: Maximian - Aquileia (no. 3), Carthage (nos 3, 4), and Alexandria (no. 3).

HERCVLI PACIFERO: Maximian - Trier (nos 12A, 13).

HERCVLI CONSERVATORI/CONSERVATORI AVGG/AVGG ET CAESS NN: Maximian - Trier (examples include nos 1, 28).

HERCVLI DEBELLAT: Diocletian - Siscia (no. 25). Maximian - Trier (nos 9, 10), and Siscia (nos 1-2, 12);

HERCVLI INMORTALI: Maximian - Trier (no. 48).

HERCVLI VICTORI: Maximian - Trier (nos 11-14, 49), Siscia (no. 14), Thessalonica (no. 2), and Nicomedia (nos 2, 3, 8).

IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG/AVSS (sic)/AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian - Trier (nos 15, 52), Carthage (no. 6), and Alexandria (no. 4). Maximian – Trier (no. 55), and Aquileia (no. 4).

IOVI CONSERVATORI: Diocletian - Trier (nos 16-18, 54), Siscia (nos 4-6, 15), Thessalonica (nos 2-5), Nicomedia (nos 1, 5a, 10, 11), and Alexandria (no. 1).

IOVI FVLGERATORI: Diocletian - Trier (nos 20, 56a). Maximian – Trier (no. 56b).

IOVI PROPVGNAT: Diocletian - Trier (no. 58).

IOVI TVTAT AVGG: Diocletian - Trier (no. 21).

IOVI VICTORI: Diocletian - Trier (nos 22-23, and Siscia (nos 7-16).

MARTI CONSERVATORI AVGG ET CAESS NN: Maximian – Carthage (no. 8)

MARTI PROPVGNATORI: Maximian -Trier (nos 59-60).

ORIENS AVGG (with device featuring Sol): Maximian - Siscia (no. 30).

SOLI INVICTO CONSERVAT AVGG ET CAESS NN: Diocletian - Carthage (no. 9).

VIRTVS AVGG (with device featuring Hercules): Diocletian - Trier (no. 84a). Maximian – Trier (nos 24, 84b); **VIRTVTI AVGG**: Maximian – Trier (nos 25-26, 91).

VOT/XX/AVGG/NN: Diocletian – Trier (no. 93a). Maximian – Trier (no. 93b); **VOT/XX/AVGG**: Diocletian – Aquileia (7a). Maximian – Aquileia (no. 7b); **VOT/XX/SIC/XXX**: Diocletian – Trier (no. 96);

VOTIS/XX/SIC/XXX: Diocletian – Trier (no. 98).

VOTIS ROMANORVM (with SIC/XX/SIC/XXX in device): Diocletian – Aquileia (no. 15).

XX/DIOCL/ETIANI/AVG/SMN: Diocletian - Nicomedia (nos 13-15).

XX/MAXI/MIAN/I AVG/SMN: Maximian - Nicomedia (nos 14, 16).

Section 2: Constantius and Galerius as *caesares*, 294-305

Billon coins:

CONCORDIAE AVGG (with device featuring Juptier): Constantius – Ticinum (no. 26a), Rome (no. 70a), and Siscia (no. 92a). Galerius – Ticinum (no. 26b), Rome (no. 70b), and Siscia (no. 92b).

CONCORDIA MILITVM (with device featuring Jupiter): Constantius – Heraclea (no. 15), Cyzicus (nos 14a, 18a,

19a), Antioch (nos 61a, 63a), and Alexandria (no. 48a). Galerius – Thessaloniki (no. 8), Heraclea (no. 16), Cyzicus (nos 14b, 18b, 19b), Antioch (nos 61b, 63b), and Alexandria (no. 48b).

FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN/AVGG ET CAESS NN/ CAESS NN: Constantius – Trier (Examples include nos 237a, 258a). Galerius – Trier (examples include nos 237b, 242).

GENIO AVGG ET CAESARVM NN: Constantius – Cyzicus (nos 7a, 9a, 11a). Galerius – Cyzicus (nos 7b, 9b, 11b).

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI: Constantius – London (examples include nos 4a, 14a), Trier (examples include nos 146a, 147a), Lyons (examples include nos 1, 4a), Ticinum (nos 24a, 30a, 32a, 35a), Aquileia (nos 19a, 21, 24a, 26a, 28a), Rome (examples include nos 46a, 66a), Siscia (examples include nos 75a, 81a), Serdica (no. 4a), Thessaloniki (nos 20a, 22a, 24a, 26a), Heraclea (nos 18a, 20a), Nicomedia (nos 28a, 30a), Antioch (examples include nos 45a, 47a), and Alexandria (examples include nos 15a, 15a). Galerius - London (examples include nos 4b, 14b), Trier (examples include nos 146b, 147b), Lyons (examples include nos 1, 4b), Ticinum (nos 24b, 30b, 32b, 35b), Aquileia (nos 19b, 24b, 26b, 28b), Rome (examples include nos 46b, 66b), Siscia (examples include nos 75b, 81b), Serdica (no. 4b), Thessaloniki (nos 20b, 22b, 24b, 26b), Heraclea (nos 18b, 20b), Nicomedia (nos 28b, 30b), Antioch (examples include nos 45b, 47b), and Alexandria (examples include nos 15b, 15b).

HERCVLI VICTORI: Constantius – Alexandria (no. 40).

IOVI CONS CAES: Galerius – Alexandria (nos 43-45).

MARTI PROPVGNATORI: Galerius – Siscia (no. 93).

MONETA AVGG ET CAESS NN: Constantius – Siscia (nos 128, 129a). Galerius – Siscia (no. 129b).

MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN: Constantius – Trier (examples include nos 426-27). Galerius – Trier (examples include nos 431, 433b).

SACRA MONETA AVGG ET CAESS NN/NOSTR: Constantius – Ticinum (nos 44a, 46a, 48a), Aquileia (examples include nos 30a, 32a), and Siscia (nos 133a, 135a). Galerius – Ticinum (nos 44b, 46b, 48b), Aquileia (examples include nos 30a, 32a), and Siscia (examples include nos 133a, 135a).

SACRA MONET VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN: Constantius – Rome (examples include nos 99a, 102a). Galerius – Rome (examples include nos 99a, 102a).

VOT X: Constantius – Ticinum (nos 39a, 40a, 41, 42a), and Carthage (no. 35a). Galerius – Ticinum (nos 39b, 40b, 42b), and Carthage (no. 35b); **VOT XX**: Constantius – Rome (nos 87a, 88a, 89a). Galerius – Rome (87b, 88b, 89b); **VOT XX CAESS**: Constantius – Trier (no. 611a). Galerius – Trier (no. 611b); **VOT X SIC XX**: Constantius – Trier (no. 568). Galerius - Trier (no. 569); **VOT XX SIC XXX**: Constantius – Trier (no. 614a). Galerius – Trier (no. 614b).

VUTILITAS PVBLICA: Constantius – Ticinum (no. 28a), and Rome (no. 49a). Galerius – Ticinum (no. 28b), and Rome (no. 49b).

Silver coins:

PROVIDENTIA AVGG: Constantius – Roma (nos 11a, 13, 35a), Siscia (no. 54a), Heraclea (nos 1, 5, 9), Nicomedia (nos 18, 21, 24), and Cyzicus (no. 4). Galerius – Rome (nos 11b, 35b), Siscia (no. 54b), and Thessaloniki (no. 9).

VICTORIA AVGG: Constantius – Siscia (nos 57a, 66a, 73). Galerius – Siscia (nos 57b, 66b, 69).

VIRTVS MILITVM: Constantius – Trier (examples include nos 103a, 110a), Ticinum (nos 15a, 19a), Rome (nos 29a, 33, 42a, 44a), Siscia (nos 44a, 47a, 67a, 71a), Serdica (no. 2a), Thessaloniki (nos 12a, 14a, 16a), Antioch (examples include nos 34a, 36), and Alexandria (nos 11-12, 13a). Galerius – Trier (examples include nos 103b, 110b), Ticinum (nos 15b, 19b), Rome (nos 29b, 42b, 44b), Siscia (examples include nos 44b, 45), Serdica (no. 2b), Thessaloniki (nos 12b, 14b, 16b, 18), Heraclea (nos 4, 11), Cyzicus (no. 6), Antioch (nos 34b, 48b, 40b, 41b, 43b), and Alexandria (no. 13b); **VIRTVTI MILITVM**: Galerius – Heraclea (no.8), and Nicomedia (nos 20, 23, 26).

VOT X SIC XX: Constantius – Trier (no. 134).

XCVI: Constantius – Ticinum (no. 21a), Aquileia (no. 17a), and Carthage (no. 16a). Galerius – Ticinum (no. 21b, 22), Aquileia (no. 17b), and Carthage (no. 16b).

Gold coins:

COMES AVGG (with device featuring Mars): Galerius – Trier (no. 38); (with device featuring Minerva): Constantius – Trier (no. 5).

COMITATVS AVGG: Constantius – Trier (no. 8). Galerius – Rome (no. 4).

CONSERVATORI AVGG ET CAESS NN (with device featuring Jupiter and Hercules): Constantius – Trier (no. 41).

FIDES MILITVM: Constantius – Cyzicus (no. 1).

HERCVLI AVGG: Constantius – Trier (no. 42).

HERCVLI COMITI AVGG ET CAESS NN: Constantius – Carthage (no. 5).

HERCVLI COMITI CAESS NOSTR: Galerius – Ticinum (no. 3).

HERCVLI CONS CAES: Constantius – Antioch (nos 7-8, 14, 24, 28).

HERCVLI CONSER AVGG ET CAESS NN: Constantius – Trier (no. 45).

HERCVLI CONSERVATORI: Constantius – Ticinum (no. 4), and Aquileia (no. 8).

HERCVLI DEBELLAT: Constantius – Siscia (no. 3).

HERCVLI VICTORI: Constantius – Trier (no. 51), and Nicomedia (nos 4, 9). Galerius – Trier (no. 50).

IOVI CONS CAES: Galerius – Antioch (nos 2, 9-10, 15, 25, 29).

IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG ET CASS NN: Galerius – Trier (no. 53), and Carthage (no. 7).

IOVI CONSERVATORI: Constantius – Trier (no. 19). Galerius – Ticinum (no. 5), Aquileia (no. 9), and Nicomedia (nos 6, 12).

IOVI FVLGERATORI: Constantius – Trier (no. 57).

MARTI PROPVGNATORI: Constantius – Trier (nos 61, 64), and Siscia (nos 17a, 26). Galerius – Trier (nos 62-63), and Siscia (no. 17b).

MARTI VICTORI: Constantius – Trier (no. 31), and Siscia (no. 27a). Galerius – Siscia (no. 27b).

ORIENS AVGG/AVGVSTOR (with device featuring Sol): Constantius – Siscia (nos 28a, 31a). Galerius – Siscia (nos 28b, 31b).

PROVIDENTIA DEORVM: Constantius – Ticinum (no. 7).

SOLI INVICTO: Galerius – Trier (no. 83), Nicomedia (nos 7, 17), Antioch (no. 26). Galerius – Trier (no. 99).

VIRTVS HERCVLI CAESARIS: Constantius – Trier (no. 86).

VIRTVS IOVI CAESARIS: Galerius – Trier (no. 90).

VIRTVS MILITVM: Constantius – Ticinum (no. 9), and Rome (no. 8a). Galerius – Ticinum (no. 10), and Rome (no. 8b).

VIRTVS/VIRTVTI AVGG (with device featuring Hercules): Constantius – Trier (nos 3, 85, 92). Galerius – Rome (no. 9).

VOT X CAESS: Constantius – Aquileia (no. 5a). Galerius – Aquileia (nos 5b, 6); **VOT XX AVGG NN/CAESS**: Constantius – Trier (nos 94a, 95).

Appendix 3.1: Coin Portraits

Section 1: Aurelian



1.1. Billon, Lyons (no. 6).



1.2. Billon, Serdica (no. 261).



1.3. Billon, Antioch (no. 386).



1.4. Gold, Milan-Ticinum (no. 97).



1.5. Gold, Siscia (no. 181).



1.6. Gold, Antioch (no. 374).



Section 2: Tactius



2.1. Billon, Rome (no. 89).



2.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 210).



2.3. (left) Gold, Lyons (no. 2).



2.4. (right) Gold, Siscia (unpublished, like no. 176 in style).

Section 3: Florian



3.1. Billon, Ticinum (no. 80).



3.2. Billon, Siscia (no. 116).



3.3. Gold, Rome (no. 24).



3.4. Gold, Antioch (unpublished).

Section 4: Probus



4.1. Billon, Rome (no. 204).



4.2. Billon, Siscia (no. 611).



4.3. Billon, Antioch (no. 920).



4.4. Gold, Lyons (no. 11).



4.5. Gold, Serdica (no. 833).



4.6. Gold, Antioch (no. 919).



Section 5: Carus



5.1. Billon, Ticinum (no. 88).



5.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 124).



5.3. Gold, Rome (no. 34).



5.4. Gold, Antioch (no. 122).

Section 6.1: Carinus as *caesar*



6.1.1. Billon, Lyons (no. 150).



6.1.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 206).



6.1.3. Gold, Lyons (no. 148).



6.1.4. Gold, Antioch (no. 203).

Section 6.2: Carinus as *augustus*



6.2.1. Billon, Lyons (Carus and Carinus) (no. 143). 6.2.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 327).



6.2.3. Gold, Rome (Carus and Numerian) (no. 332). 6.2.4. Gold, Rome (no. 233).

Section 7.1: Numerian as *caesar*



7.1.1. Billon, Rome (no. 360).

7.1.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 377).



7.1.3. Gold, Cyzicus (no. 371).

7.1.4. Gold, Antioch (no. 375).

Section 7.2: Numerian as *augustus*



7.2.1. Billon, Lyons (no. 400).



7.2.2. Billon, Antioch (no. 466).



7.2.3. Gold, Rome (no. 407).



7.2.3. Gold, Siscia (no. 454).



Section 8: Diocletian, 284-293



8.1. Billon, Rome (unpublished).



8.2. Billon, Ticinum (no. 215).



8.3. Billon, Heraclea (no. 284).



8.4. Billon, Antioch (no. 323).



8.5. Gold, Rome (no. 137).



8.6. Gold, Siscia (no. 248).



8.7. Gold, Cyzicus (no. 294).



8.8. Gold, Antioch (no. 307).



Section 9: Maximian, 285-293



9.1. Billon, Rome (no. 502).



9.2. Billon, Lyons (no. 422).



9.3. Billon, Heraclea (no. 595).



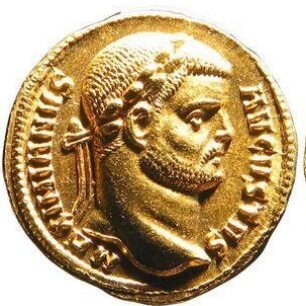
9.4. Billon, Antioch (no. 622).



9.5. Gold, Rome (no. 492).



9.6. Gold, Rome (no. 500).



9.7. Gold, Cyzicus (no. 596).



9.8. Gold, Antioch (no. 617).



Section 10.1: pre-reform coins of the first tetrarchy



10.1.1. Diocletian, billon, Lyons (no. 110).

10.1.2. Diocletian, billon, Antioch (no. 322).



10.1.3. Maximian, billon, Lyons (no. 467).

10.1.4. Maximian, billon, Antioch (no. 621).



10.1.5. Constantius, billon, Lyons (no. 644).

10.1.6. Constantius, billon, Antioch (no. 673).



10.1.7. Galerius, billon, Lyons (no. 692).

10.1.8. Galerius, billon, Antioch (no. 719).

Section 10.2: post-reform coins of the first tetarchy

Billon coins



10.2.1. Diocletian, Aquileia (no. 31a).



10.2.2. Diocletian, Antioch (no. 52a).



10.2.3. Maximian, Aquileia (no. 37b).



10.2.4. Maximian, Antioch (no. 58b).



10.2.5. Constantius, Aquileia (no. 30a).



10.2.6. Constantius, Antioch (no. 53a).



10.2.7. Galerius, Aquileia (no. 32b).



10.2.8. Galerius, Antioch (no. 59b).



Silver coins



10.2.9. Diocletian, Aquileia (no. 16a).

10.2.10. Diocletian, Antioch (no. 39a).



10.2.11. Maximian, Aquileia (no. 16b).

10.2.12. Maximian, Antioch (no. 37b).



10.2.13. Constantius, Aquileia (no. 17a).

10.2.14. Constantius, Antioch (no. 40a).



10.2.15. Galerius, Aquileia (no. 17b).

10.2.16. Galerius, Antioch (no. 43b).

Gold coins



10.2.17. Diocletian, Trier (no. 54).



10.2.18. Diocletian, Antioch (no. 13).



10.2.19. Maximian, Trier (no. 46).



10.2.20. Maximian, Antioch (no. 11).



10.2.21. Constantius, Trier (no. 61).



10.2.22. Constantius, Antioch (no. 7).



10.2.23. Galerius, Trier (no. 62).



10.2.24. Galerius, Antioch (no. 10).



Section 11: coins of the second tetarchy

Billon coins



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11.1. Constantius, Aquileia (no. 66a).

11.2. Constantius, Cyzicus (no. 21a).



11.3. Galerius, Aquileia (no. 66b).

11.4. Galerius, Cyzicus (no. 21b).



11.5. Severus, Aquileia (no. 68a).

11.6. Severus, Cyzicus (no. 20a).



11.7. Maximinus, Aquileia (no. 68b).

11.8. Maximinus, Cyzicus (no. 20b).

Silver coins



11.9. Constantius, Serdica (no. 11a).

11.10. Galerius, Serdica (no. 11b).



11.11. (left) Severus, Serdica (unpublished).

11.12. (right) Maximinus, Serdica (unpublished, same type as no. 22).

Serdica is the only mint that produced silver coins of all four emperors in 305-06.

Gold coins



11.13. Constantius, Aquileia (no. 48).

11.14. Constantius, Nicomedia (no. 37).



11.15. Galerius, Aquileia (no. 41b).

11.16. Galerius, Nicomedia (no. 38).



11.17. Severus, Aquileia (no. 45).

11.18. Severus, Nicomedia (no. 34).



11.19. Maximinus, Aquileia (no. 52).

11.20. Maximinus, Nicomedia (no. 35).

Section 12: mints controlled by Galerius after July 306

Billon coins



12.1. Galerius, Thessaloniki (no. 37a).



12.2. Galerius, Heraclea (no. 37a).



12.3. Licinius, Thessaloniki (no. 30b).



12.4. Licinius, Heraclea (no. 48b).



12.4. Maximinus, Thessaloniki (no. 39a).



12.5. Maximinus, Heraclea (no. 35).



12.6. Constantine, Thessaloniki (no. 39b).



12.7. Constantine, Heraclea (no. 60b).



Gold coins



12.8. Galerius, Nicomedia (no. 44).



12.9. Maximinus, Nicomedia (no. 46).



12.10. Constantine, Nicomedia (no. 45).



12.11. Constantine, Thessaloniki (no. 28).



Only Thessaloniki minted gold coins of Licinius, but images can not be found. Note the bearded Constantine from Thessaloniki and beardless Constantine from Nicomedia.

Section 13: mints controlled by Maximinus after July 306

Billon coins



13.1. Galerius, Antioch (no. 112a).



13.2. Galerius, Alexandria (no. 101a).



13.3. Licinius, Antioch (no. 133b).



13.4. Licinius, Alexandria (no. 101b).



13.5. (left) Maximinus as *caesar*, Antioch (no. 134).



13.6. (right) Maximinus as *caesar*, Alexandria (no. 52).





13.7. (left) Maximinus as *augustus*, Antioch (no. 147c).

13.8. (right) Maximinus as *augustus*, Alexandria (no. 155b).



13.9. (left) Constantine as *caesar*, Antioch (unpublished, same as no. 74a-75b).

13.10. (right) Constantine as *caesar*, Alexandria (no. 85).



13.11 (left). Constantine as *augustus*, Antioch (no. 164c).

13.12 (right). Constantine as *augustus*, Alexandria (no. 156).

Gold coins



13.13. Galerius, Antioch (no. 79).



13.14. Galerius, Alexandria (unpublished).



13.15. (left) Licinius, Antioch (no. 156a).



13.16. (right) Maximinus as *caesar*, Alexandria (no. 96).



13.17. (left) Maximinus as *augustus*, Antioch (no. 130).



13.18. (right) Maximinus as *augustus*, Alexandria (no. 132).



Section 14.1: mints controlled by Licinius, 308-11



14.1.1. Galerius, billon, Siscia (no. 198a).



14.1.2. Galerius, gold, Siscia (no. 189).



14.1.3. Licinius, billon, Siscia (no. 232a).



14.1.4. Licinius, gold, Siscia (no. 195).



14.1.5. Maximinus, billon, Siscia (no. 200a).



14.1.6. Maximinus, gold, Siscia (no. 193).



14.1.7. Constantine, billon, Siscia (no. 200b).



14.1.8. Constantine, gold, Siscia (no. 214).

Section 14.2: mints controlled by Licinius, 311-13



14.2.1. (left) Licinius, billon, Thessaloniki (no. 59).

14.2.2. (right) Licinius, gold, Thessaloniki (no. 44a).



14.2.3. (left) Maximinus, billon, Thessaloniki (no. 50a).

14.2.2. (right) Maximinus, gold, Thessaloniki (no. 44b).



14.2.5. (left) Constantine, billon, Thessaloniki (no. 61b).

14.2.6. (right) Constantine, gold, Thessaloniki (no. 44c).

Section 14.3: mints controlled by Licinius, 313-324

Billon coins



14.3.1. Licinius, Nicomedia (no. 24).



14.3.2. Constantine, Nicomedia (no. 14).



14.3.3. (left) Licinius and his son, Nicomedia (no. 38).



14.3.4. (right) Constantine and Licinius, Nicomedia (no. 39).



14.3.5. Licinius, Antioch (no. 34).



14.3.6. Constantine, Antioch (no. 35).





14.3.7. Licinius, Alexandria (no. 28).



14.3.8. Constantine, Alexandria (no. 17).

Gold coins



14.3.9. Licinius, Serdica (no. 3).

14.3.10. Constantine, Serdica (no. 1).



14.3.11. Licinius, Heraclea (no. 9).

14.3.12. Constantine, Heraclea (no. 8).



14.3.13. (left) Licinius, Nicomedia (unpublished, same reverse as no. 18-20).

14.3.14 (right). Constantine, Nicomedia (no. 5).



14.3.15. Licinius, Antioch (no. 32).

14.3.16. Constantine, Antioch (no. 1).

Section 15: mints controlled by Maxentius

Billon coins



15.1. (left) Maxentius, Aquileia (no. 113).

15.2. (right) Constantine as *caesar*, Aquileia (no. 117).



15.3. Maxentius, Rome (no. 210).

15.4. Maximian, Rome (no. 194b).



15.5. (left) Maxentius, Carthage (no. 60).

15.6. (right) Constantine as *caesar*, Carthage (no. 61).

Silver coins



15.7. Maxentius Rome (no. 191)



15.8. Maxentius Ostia (no. 13)



Gold coins



15.9. Maxentius, Rome (no. 167).



15.10. Maximian, Rome (no. 136).



15.11. Maxentius, Rome (no. 140).



15.12. Constantine, Rome



15.13. Maxentius, Carthage (no. 47).



15.14. Maxentius, Ostia (no. 10).



Section 16.1: mints controlled by Constantine, 306-13

Billon coins



16.1.1. Constantine, London (no. 121a).



16.1.2. Constantine, Ostia (no. 94).



16.1.3. (left) Licinius, London (unpublished type for Licinius; published for Constantine, see no. 153).



16.1.4. (right) Licinius, Ostia (no. 84b).



16.1.5. (left) Maximinus, London (unpublished type for Maximinus; published for Constantine and Licinius, see nos 275-78).



16.1.6. (right) Maximinus, Ostia (no. 75a).



Gold coins



16.1.7. Constantine, Ticinum (no. 113).



16.1.8. Licinius, Ticinum (no. 112).



16.1.9. Licinius, Trier (no. 817c).



16.1.10. Constantine, Trier (no. 824).



16.1.11. Maximinus, Rome (unpublished).



16.1.12. Constantine, Trier (no. 802)



Section 16.2: mints controlled by Constantine, 313-24

Billon coins



16.2.1. Constantine, Ticinum (no. 174).



16.2.2. Licinius, Ticinum (no. 146).



16.2.3. Constantine, Siscia (no. 49).



16.2.4. Licinius, Siscia (no. 85).



16.2.5. Constantine, Sirmium (no. 41).



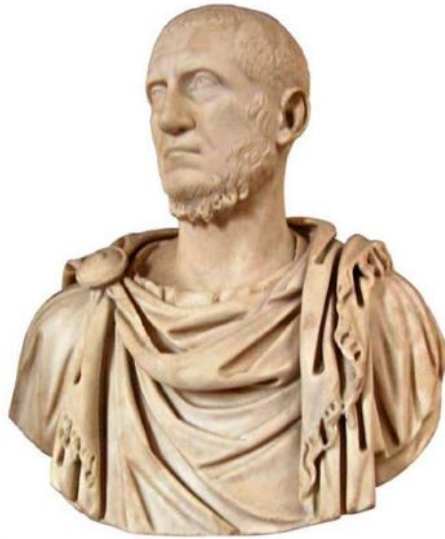
16.2.6. Licinius, Siscia (no. 121).



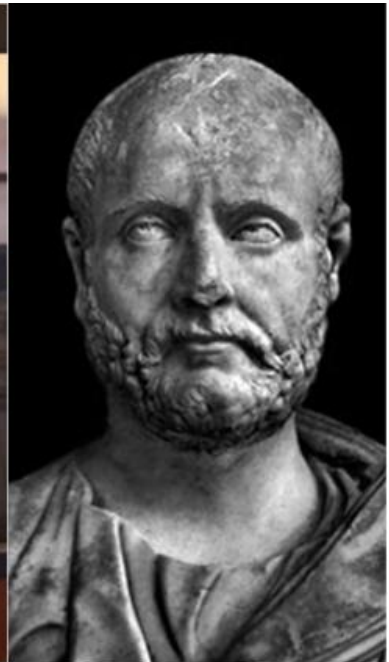


16.2.12. Constantine, Ticinum (no. 59).

Appendix 3.2 – Statue Portraits



3.2.1-3.2.3: Aurelian (Santa Giulia Museum, Brescia. Courtesy of Giovanni Dall’Orto) (left); Tacitus (Louvre, Paris. Courtesy of Roby) (centre); Florian (doubtful. Bode Museum, Berlin. Courtesy of Rome-Empire.net) (right).



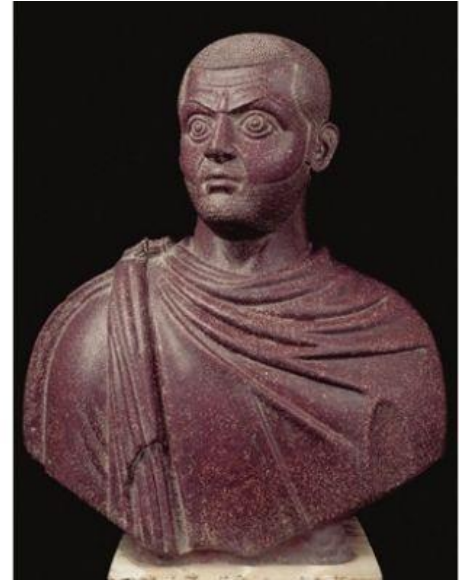
3.2.4-3.2.6: Probus (Capitoline Museums, Rome. Courtesy of Jastrow) (left); Probus (Santa Giulia Museum, Brescia. Courtesy of Giovanni Dall’Orto) (centre); Carus (Archaeological Museum of Ostia. Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Ostiense) (right).



3.2.7-3.2.9: Carinus (Capitoline Museums, Rome. Courtesy of Lalupa) (left); Carinus (Capitoline Museums, Rome. Courtesy of Encyclopaedia Britannica) (centre); Numerian (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Courtesy of Mark Landon) (right).



3.2.10-3.2.12: Diocletian (Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Courtesy of Giovannia Dall'Orto) (left); Diocletian (Archaeological Museum. Courtesy of Museo Archaeologico di Milano) (centre); Maximian (Musée Saint Raymond, Toulouse. Courtesy of Pierre-Selim) (right).



3.2.13-3.2.15: Constantius (Glyptothek, Copenhagen. Courtesy of Marie-Lan Nguyen) (left); Galerius (National Museum, Zajčcar. Courtesy of Shinhirod) (centre); Galerius/Maximinus (Cairo Museum. Courtesy of Cairo Museum) (right).



3.2.16-3.2.17: Diocletian and Maximian (Nicomedia. Courtesy of Cukurbag Archaeological Project) (left); four tetrarchs (St. Mark's Basilica, Venice. Courtesy of Nino Barbieri) (right).



3.2.18-3.2.19: front two tetrarchs (courtesy of Nino Barberi) (top left); back two tetrarchs (courtesy of Saliko) (top right).

3.2.20-3.2.21: *augusti* of the tetrarchy (bottom left); *caesares* of the tetrarchy (bottom right) (both Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican. Courtesy of Sansaini).



3.2.22-3.2.23: Maxentius (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. Courtesy of Mark Landon) (top left); Licinius (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Courtesy of Kunsthistorisches Museum) (top right).

3.2.24-3.2.25: Constantine (Capitoline Museums, Rome. Courtesy of Merulana) (bottom left); Constantine (National Museum, Belgrade. Courtesy of National Museum, Belgrade) (bottom right).